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THE ROLE OF THE LISE (SECONDARY SCHOOL) IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNIZATION OF TURKEY WAS STUDIED. THE STUDY INCLUDED PATTERNS OF STUDENT RECRUITMENT, LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, MOBILITY AND THE OCCUPATION STRUCTURE, AND STUDENT VALUES. A QUESTIONNAIRE WAS ADMINISTERED TO 6,000 STUDENTS. FOUR CATEGORIES OF SCHOOLS WERE SELECTED--PUBLIC, PRIVATE TURKISH, FOREIGN-OPERATED, AND MINORITY LISES. TURKISH STUDENTS WERE (1) GENERALLY SECULAR IN ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION, (2) OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE, (3) ASPIRING AND MINDFUL OF THEIR ROLE IN BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY, AND (4) RELATIVELY "MOBILE." THE LISE WAS VIEWED AS A MAJOR AVENUE FOR HIGHER STATUS. HOWEVER, IT PERPETUATES THE GAP BETWEEN THE SMALL EDUCATED ELITE AND THE UNEDUCATED POPULACE. (RS)

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SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TURKISH LISE
Cooperative Research Project No. S-047

Andreas M. Kazamias

The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
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The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

1965

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PREFACE

The idea of embarking upon a systematic study of Turkish education was conceived in the fall of 1961 when the author joined the staff of the Comparative Education Center of the University of Chicago. One of the areas of research conducted at the Center by graduate students and members of the staff focused on case studies of the relationship between education, particularly the secondary schools, and certain aspects of the social and economic structure in a variety of countries. It was felt that a similar study of Turkish secondary schools would add to the knowledge that was being accumulated on what might be called the "social dynamics" of education.

A generous grant from the Comparative Education Center and the award of the Kappa Delta Pi Harold Benjamin Fellowship in International Education, enabled the author to spend the academic year 1962-63 in Turkey, where he gathered the necessary data for the project he had tentatively outlined the previous year. A questionnaire designed at the University of Chicago was refined and considerably expanded for the purpose of gathering information on the students in the Turkish academic secondary schools known as lises. While in Turkey, and through the cooperation of the Research and Measurement Bureau of the Turkish National Ministry of Education, the questionnaire was administered to about 6,000 students carefully selected from the four main types of the lise: public, private Turkish, minority and foreign-operated. Through the assistance of the same agencies and George W. Angell, Jr., then in the service of the United States Agency for International Development, the data were coded and then punched on IBM cards. There were four cards for each sampled unit. When all the cards were cleared, there was information on 5,123 students. The cards were then brought to the United States to be processed.

The generous support received from the Cooperative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education was for the purpose of developing a "program" so that the data could be processed through the computer, of actually processing the material and constructing tables for interpretation. The attached report presents and analyzes most of the significant information. In addition, it should be added that parts of these empirical data were used for one other major volume: a full-length book manuscript entitled EDUCATION AND THE QUEST FOR MODERNITY, accepted for publication by the University of Chicago Press.

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Turkey as we know it today was born from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire in 1923 after an internal revolution and a bloody war against invading European powers. Under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, later proclaimed Atatürk (father of the Turks), the revolutionary regime embarked upon an ambitious program of complete transformation of the entire fabric of the new society and the new state. This process, often referred to as modernization, aimed at the abolition of the traditional Ottoman values and institutions and their replacement by those of a secular, equalitarian, national, nationalistic, and dynamic polity after the model of Western democracies. Unlike earlier attempts to synthesize the Western with the Oriental, Kemalism or Atatürkism, the new Turkish ideology, which has continued to be the motivating force in Turkish development and modernization, was unitary and uncompromising. In the words of a modern Turkish writer: "the Kemalist Revolution . . . rested on the indivisibility of Western civilization. It was a radical and organic revolution that rejected compromise between the Old and the New, the East and the West, secularism and religion."[1]

In this attempted metamorphosis education and the schools were assigned a major role. This meant at least two things: (a) the modernization of the entire structure of the educational system, and (b) the use of education for the political, social, economic, and cultural development of the society. This professed expectation on the part of the new Turkish leaders highlights the major significance of a study focused on education. For if education has been perceived to occupy a pivotal position in the modernization of Turkish society, the social investigator is presented with the challenging task of examining the dynamics of social change and providing information for a fuller assessment of the progress made. The larger study of which the following report may be considered as a part was concerned with the broader question of the role of education in the socio-political and cultural modernization of Turkey. The present report is limited to certain questions pertaining to one aspect of the Turkish educational enterprise, namely, the academic secondary school known as the _lise_.

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[1] Nuri Eren, _Turkey Today--and Tomorrow_ (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), p. 19. Also see Niyazi Berkes, _The Development of Secularism in Turkey_ (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), pp. 463-465.

A. The Problem and its Significance

The educational systems of modern societies, or societies aspiring toward modernity, display some common general characteristics. First, the education of the young becomes the function of public rather than of private or voluntary agencies; compulsory schooling, at least through early adolescence, is considered necessary for political recruitment, participation and concensus, for economic advancement, and generally for the stability and viability of social institutions. Second, the development of an integrated and balanced system of schools is felt to be indispensable for the training of needed manpower in all sectors of the polity. Third, the administration and coordination of the various types of schools, as well as of other educational activities, call for a well-defined bureaucratic apparatus at both the local and the national levels. In addition, however, modernity in education implies other important elements; expansion of the educational enterprise and of educational opportunities; a more positive relationship between amounts and levels of education and social and occupational placement; the narrowing of wide gaps between highly educated elites and a vast illiterate or meagerly educated populace; and the development of values and skills (intellectual or otherwise) necessary for participation in a modern society and for facilitating, maintaining, or adjusting to social change.[2]

In seeking to build a new Turkey, the Kemalists sought to modernize the educational system and the society along many of the principles stated above. The general problem of our study was twofold: to understand the nature and development of educational change, and to analyze and assess the role of education in the movement toward modernity. Education, as previously stated, was interpreted to mean the legally-sanctioned system of schools, and within that system, the academic lises. In a more general sense, modernization was used to refer to those policies of the Turkish Republic aimed at creating a secular, scientific, populistic, equalitarian, and dynamic society based on Western models and values. In connection with this modernizing process, we focused on the relationship between the lises and such questions as patterns of social selection and recruitment, mobility and the occupational structure, educational and vocational aspirations and expectations, and certain value systems of the lise students.

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[2] For more discussion of certain characteristics of a modern educational system and certain theoretical models of modernization, see Robert E. Ward and Danwart A. Rustow, editors, Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 3-7, 210-211; Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958, Reissue in paperback, 1964), pp. 43-75; Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality, and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 32-69; and James S. Coleman, editor, Education and Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965).

The lise was chosen for the following main reasons: First, because it is an institution centrally located in the educational, occupational, and power structure of the society; second, because it is the school upon which the Turks themselves have relied heavily for the development of the necessary leadership, the intellectual skills, and the attitudes to nourish and sustain their national and cultural aspirations; and third, because, since the introduction of the first lise in 1868, it has played an important part in the modernization movement.

The lise was examined historically and sociologically. We, therefore, traced the origins of the institution in the nineteenth century and its development up to the present time. In connection with this historical treatment we paid particular attention to the nature and social functions of the institution, and in our analysis and interpretation we have utilized sociological and political science concepts. In this report we shall not describe in any detail this part of the research. In our examination of the social dynamics of the lise today we focused primarily on the students attending such an institution. It was felt that by mapping a picture of the characteristics and values of this selective segment of the Turkish population--the potential elites of the society--we would be in a better position to make judgments concerning the nature and tempo of social change. The data for this part of the research were gathered through a questionnaire.

B. Objectives and their Relevance to the Problem

The ultimate goal of this study, as stated earlier, was to assess the role of the Turkish lise in the development and modernization of Turkey. Specific proximate objectives were the examination of the following questions:

1. Patterns of Student Recruitment Into the Lises. This will deal with the social background characteristics of the students attending the lises. Our aim here was to find out the nature of social selection in this crucial institution. Since the aim of the Republic was to tap the talent from all segments of the society and to "mobilize" the entire population, empirical data on the inflow of students to the lise would help us understand and evaluate this goal. Politically, the pattern of social recruitment into the lise would be significant

in understanding the distribution of power among the various segments of the population. Furthermore, by comparing the four types of lise, it will be possible to see variations in the degree of selectivity or "eliteness" among different schools of the same educational level.

2. Level of Educational and Occupational Aspirations. Information on this question would contribute to a better understanding of perceived accessibility to educational and occupational paths, of constraints in social and occupational ascent or mobility, and of the factors which go into educational and occupational choices. Further, by examining these variables with similar ones pertaining to parents and grandparents it would be possible to assess generational changes since the Ottoman days. To the Turkish planner findings on this question would also be of value in assessing the realism of projections and targets. Finally, by examining the levels of aspirations in relation to the social background characteristics described above, it will be possible to ascertain variations within the Turkish society and to provide material for comparisons with Western nations. (In Western societies educational aspirations and expectations have been found to be correlated with parental occupation and education).

3. Mobility and the Occupational Structure. Students of modernization have found that the transformation of a traditional to a modern society presupposes a degree of geographical, occupational and social mobility, and the existence of what Lerner has called a "mobile sensibility" among the people. The question of occupational mobility was mentioned under 2 above. Mobility is also tied up with how people perceive the occupational structure, and their chances for advancement. A series of items in the questionnaire sought to assess the extent to which new occupational categories have emerged in modern Turkey in place of the Ottoman ones.

4. Values of Lise Students. In addition to educational and vocational aspirations, and attitudes toward the occupational structure, the study sought to explore certain social-psychological characteristics of the lise students, and certain attitudes toward their own educational experiences. Specifically, we were interested in finding out the degree of authoritarianism, secularism, and alienation among the lise youth, whether there were vestiges of traditional ideologies such as belief in fate (kismet) and an uncritical deference toward the elders, the extent to which students are optimistic or frustrated, what their goals in life are, and what attitudes they have toward certain types of education.

To what extent this strategic segment of the Turkish public has accepted cultural and educational modernization is of cardinal importance for the development of Turkey. For modernization also implies a "modernized" personality as well as a modernized institutional structure.

Related Research and Literature

So far as this writer is aware no research focuses explicitly on the multiple facets of the problem as described above. However, several studies which examine the general modernization movement in Turkey or specific aspects of it deal with some of the questions of this project.

1. Literature in English

The most recent and relevant works in English include the following:

a. Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, 1961. Perhaps the most comprehensive historical treatment of the growth of Turkey, this study contains some valuable material on the role of the lise during the Ottoman period, particularly on the role of the Galatasaray. Sultani, the first lise in the country. Lewis' analysis of certain aspects of social change in the second part of the book provided useful information and insights for the interpretation of some of the data in our study.

b. Richard D. Robinson, The First Turkish Republic: A Case Study in National Development, 1963. This is a comprehensive study of Turkish development during the republican period. Robinson's references to education deal with increases in enrollments and the rate of literacy and the problem of educational opportunity. However, as in the case of Lewis' study, Robinson's work provides useful material for the interpretation of some of the findings of the present research.

c. Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East, 1958 and 1964. An interesting social-psychological study of modernization, it has been useful for certain concepts employed here, and for an understanding of Turkish culture.

d. Frederick Frey, "Education: Turkey," in Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, edited by Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, 1964.

Perhaps the most relevant of the English references, this short study examines, *inter alia*, the relationship of the *lise* to the power structure of Turkey. The most pertinent part of this work is some empirical evidence on *lise* student attitudes concerning secularism, authoritarianism, and alienation.

e. Richard E. Maynard, "The *Lise* and its Curriculum in the Turkish Educational System," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, Department of Education, June, 1961. A descriptive historical study encompassing all aspects of the curriculum of the *lise*, viz., courses of study, methods of teaching, examinations and evaluation, etc. A valuable source for the interpretation of some of the data in our study.

2. Literature in Turkish

Two surveys of attitudes of *lise* students are particularly pertinent here.

a. F. W. Frey, et.al. *Öğrencilerin Meslek Gruplarina Bağladiklari Değerler*, Ankara, 1962. This study reports part of the data of a survey which sought to gauge student values concerning certain politically relevant questions and certain occupations, and students' perceptions of themselves and their own future. The published report deals only with occupational prestige. In our study the question of occupational prestige is carried further than the aforementioned survey, to include differences within the major occupational clusters.

b. Feriha Baymur, *Lise ve Dengi Okullara Devam Eden Öğrencilerin Problemleri*, Ankara, 1961. This is also an empirical investigation dealing with six clusters of problems of *lise* students, viz., problems concerning school, home and family, health, planning for the future, peer-group relations, and students' perceptions of their own personalities. Although this study provides much material for an understanding of *lise* "social climates" and for an assessment of their effects upon learning, it is limited to the students' perceptions of their own "problems" at school. The author does not examine the findings in relation to what happens outside the school, or the students' perceptions of non-school phenomena.

Procedures

1. On the basis of information in this country, a tentative questionnaire was constructed covering some of the questions relevant to the problem. Upon arrival in Turkey, additional information was secured from Turkish sources, and the original questionnaire was refined.

2. Through the cooperation of the National Ministry of Education, an information blank was sent to the principals of all the lises in Turkey requesting current enrollment figures in each of the three lise classes, as a base for sampling.

3. A total of 93 lises was included in the final sample of schools as follows: 40 public, 30 private Turkish, 13 foreign operated, and 10 minority lises. Of the total enrollments in each of the four categories of schools, 1500 students were sampled making a grand total of 6,000 students. Care was taken to include 500 students from each of the three lise classes. In the case of the three non-public types of lises the selection of students was randomly made from lists secured from each of the schools. In the case of the public schools selection was more difficult because of the large number of enrollments in these schools (about 88, 232). Our problem was to give every student in a given class an equal probability of selection. To attain this, an elaborate formula was developed through the assistance of Dr. Jöel Tucker, an American Consultant for AID, attached to the Bureau of Statistics in Ankara.

4. Before administering the questionnaire to our final sample of 6,000 students, we ran a pre-test to 200 students in two representative lises, one in Ankara, a cosmopolitan center, and one in Kirsehir, a provincial town. On the basis of the findings and intensive interviews with the students, the instrument was further refined in terms of validity and reliability criteria.

5. The final questionnaire was then administered. Of the total returns, 5,123 sampled units were cleared, the answers were coded and the data were punched on IBM cards. The coding was done by the investigator and a trained group of Turkish coders. There were four cards for each sampled unit, making a total of 20,492 punched cards. These were brought to the United States and were processed at the University of Chicago. Our aim now was to make cross-tabulations

of significant variables and summary indices of significance (X^2). The findings are presented in the report that follows.

Organization of the Report

Following this introductory section, there is a general part consisting of two chapters. These chapters present a historical overview of the modernization movement and certain features of Turkish education and the Turkish lise. The empirical data are analyzed and interpreted in the three chapters that follow the "background" part of the report. These chapters are organized in terms of the major themes of the study described above. There then follows a concluding section, tables, and a copy of the instrument used.

CHAPTER I

THE OTTOMAN BACKGROUND

The Turkish Revolution of 1923 had a twofold purpose: to break with the past, and to chart a course which would set the new nation toward the road of modernization. In pursuing this goal, the new Turkish leaders were faced with the problem not only of establishing an institutional structure to supersede the old, but also of creating the necessary idealogical and cultural consensus to sustain the structural changes and to lubricate the workings of the new system. Like many new states of the twentieth century, Turkey turned to the West for its efforts to create a "modern" state. Like other states also, which have either peacefully or through revolutions passed from a traditional to a modern society or are yet in the transitional stage, Turkey has been circumscribed by that same historical past which it has sought to supersede. Therefore, any phase of Turkish modernization or development must be examined not only in its current setting, but also against its historical context. This consideration is even more pertinent when education becomes the focus of inquiry. For it is upon education that the new Turks relied for the creation of a modern society, and education looks as much into the future as it does into the past.

Ottoman Islamic Setting

Since we are concerned with the passing of a traditional society, it is necessary at the outset to delineate some of the salient characteristics of such a society. The traditional setting from which modern Turkey emerged may be epitomized in terms of two basic and interrelated concepts: Ottoman and Islamic.

The term "Ottoman" takes us back to a Turkic nomadic people belonging to a tribal federation in Mongolia, which bore the name of Oghuz. Through the power of the sword, these Ottomans or Osmanlis entrenched themselves in the western part of the Anatolian peninsula around the city of Brusa (now Bursa). Within a century (between about the middle of the 14th and the middle of the 15th centuries) they rose to power, and by the capture of the imperial city of Constantinople in 1453 they wiped out the last vestiges of the Christian Byzantine Empire of the Paleologi. "Ottoman" brings to mind at first a vigorous, expansive, self-confident group of warriors who controlled the gates to the Orient and who twice reached the walls of Vienna, but later of a decadent and corrupt "sick man of Europe." If, of course we talk of the Ottoman Sultans, we might think of an Oriental form of despotism and an Oriental way of life, with harems, eunuchs and slaves.

The Ottoman society, however, and the Ottoman state were more complex than this, and in some respects rather paradoxical. For, although the Ottoman government was oriental, absolute, and despotic, yet there was a certain degree of "openness" in the system of recruitment to high offices in the state, and there was no hereditary aristocracy so familiar to the medieval West. At least this was true of the early period of Ottoman history. Although there were slaves, yet some of these slaves could become Grand Vezirs (prime ministers) or agas of the Janissaries (the highest military office in a military society), or valis (governors of provinces). Even the Sultan himself, more often than not, was born of a slave mother. And again, although the Ottomans were of Turkic ethnic origin, they preferred not to be called "Turks," that term being used rather derogatorily to refer to the Anatolian peasant, the country bumpkin. The large number of peasant Turks inhabiting the villages of Anatolia and Rumelia (the Asiatic and the European major divisions of the Empire) had no strong loyalties to the political head of the State, and no feeling of national consciousness. Moreover, there was very little, if any, peasant participation in the affairs of the polity, except in the payment of taxes.

The early history of the Ottoman Empire was one of 'de-Turkanization," one might say of the early Osmanli Kingdom. Through the system of recruitment known as devşirme: slave, male children of non-Moslem, which also meant non-Turkish, background were carefully selected, educated in the Palace School of Constantinople, and trained to assume leadership positions in the society. Finally, it is necessary to remember that the Ottoman Empire was not a national entity in the same sense that the modern Turkish state is. Rather it was an agglomeration of diverse ethnic and religious groups (millets) some of whom preferred to be known by their own ethnic or religious name than as Ottoman Turks.

Clearly, therefore, when one talks about the Ottomans one is perforce talking about a polymorphous and rather paradoxical society and body politic. There was, however, one single pervasive unifying element among at least the Turkic elements in the society, and that was the Islamic religion. Ottoman Turk, in fact, was often invariably associated with Islamic religious affiliation. And it was the "Moslemness," so to speak, of the Ottomans which created a cultural consensus and a corporateness among the people. Islam legitimatized authority in the State, the village, and the family, and it regulated social, political, and even family relationships. The Islamic character of the Ottoman society also determined and regulated education both as a social institution and as a way of life.

Ottoman Education

The movement toward "modernization," or "Westernization" as it was then known, has been identified as having begun toward the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. Prior to that, education was almost exclusively in the hands of the religious groups in the society, the Doctors of Islamic Law known as *Ulema*, and the various other religious functionaries from the *Ulema* down to the local *imam*, the parish priest so to speak. Heirs of the Islamic tradition, which placed high value on education, the Ottomans established schools which were adjoined to mosques, and organized a graded system of education from the lowest *mekteb* (primary school) to the highest *medrese* (higher religious college). The purpose of these religious schools was to induct the young into the religious and moral precepts of Islam as embodied in the Koran, and in the higher schools to train future religious leaders as well as the learned men of the Empire. In the Ottoman society, the ecclesiastical branch of the polity was not limited solely to religion. The *Ulema*, in addition to being ecclesiastics and teachers, constituted an important element in the governmental structure of the State. They were entrusted, for example, with the administration of justice which was governed by the *Şeriat*, the Holy Law; some of them had strong personal ties with the Sultans; and they were strongly represented in government bodies centrally located in the power structure of the State. Their head, the *Şeyhulislam*, was second only to the Sultan in authority and always walked by the side of the *Grand Vezir*. Hence, the *medrese*, which trained such people, occupied a pivotal position in the religious, educational, and governmental spheres of the Empire.

In addition to these "religious" schools, there were several other agencies which performed significant educational functions. First, there was the famous Palace School (*Enderun Mektebi*) which was established shortly after the conquest of Constantinople and continued until almost the liquidation of the Empire in the 20th century. At the height of its glory (from the fall of Constantinople to the end of the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent in the 16th century), this was an unusual institution. It recruited the choicest youth from among the non-Moslem subjects of the Empire, mostly the Christian subjects, trained them in what may be called a combination of the liberal, vocational and physical elements of education, and prepared them for high positions in the Court, in the army, and in the civil bureaucracy. Then there were what may be called the "informal educational agencies," such as the various bureaus of the Government, the mosque, the family, and so on.

Salient Features of Ottoman Society

There are several noteworthy features of the traditional Ottoman society and education that are particularly relevant for an understanding of the modernization movement and the emergence of the Turkish national state. First, there was a momentous bifurcation between the ruling classes or the elite group (the Sultan and his court, the military, the upper segments of the bureaucracy, and the upper Ulema), and the masses of the people, especially the peasants. The line between the rulers and the ruled was very sharply drawn, and the distinctions were minutely regulated. The peasants, for example, could not ride a horse or carry a sword, and for all meaningful purposes they did not participate in the body politic. They were the tillers of the soil, a source of revenue for the government, and they lived a rather circumscribed existence in isolated villages. They were conservative in outlook, limited in the scope of their loyalties, organized in partrilineal family groups, and they were overwhelmingly illiterate. Instruction in the local mekteb was a mere memorization of verses in the Koran. As this book was written in Arabic, a foreign tongue, the mekteb students memorized verses without understanding, let alone being able to read or write them. For all meaningful purposes the peasant child remained illiterate or semi-illiterate and within the confines of his village and social class. To be sure, there were cases of the village boy who would go to the city, attach himself to a learned Imam, and thereby become educated and rise in the social hierarchy. But these were extremely isolated cases.

At the other end of the social scale, there were the elites--the military, religious, and civil aristocracy. These people had the benefits of the education provided in the Enderun or the medrese, or of an apprenticeship in the bureaus; they were at the helm of the government and, for their Sultan and Caliph, would take up arms to expand or defend the Empire.

Another important bifurcation of the Ottoman society was between the urban and rural communities, described by Gibb and Bowen as follows:

> Here it was not merely a contrast between isolation and congregation, between the dispersed economy of the village and the concentrated economy of the town, between oppressed poverty and relative freedom and wealth, between producer and consumer. It was a contrast of civilizations. The medieval Moslem culture was above all an urban culture.[1]

Important as these bifurcations were, it should also be noted that in the Ottoman society, especially in its early stages, there was no hereditary caste system of the type familiar to the Medieval West and in other parts of the then world. To an extent, talent or merit was rewarded accordingly. The members of the "ruling class" were not a self-perpetuating group but were recruited from diverse segments of the population. Education, in fact, was of immense functional value, and to a large extent, determined a person's social and occupational advancement and placement.

Decline of the Ottoman Empire

By the latter years of the Ottoman Empire (beginning approximately with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, but gaining momentum in the 18th and 19th centuries), there were significant transformations in the existing structure, and new currents of thought emerged which presaged a different course for the Ottomans. Here we can present a general picture of this development or 'decline" as most writers have called it, but we shall try to include most of its salient characteristics.

One significant transformation was the change in the balance of power regarding both the external relations of the Empire and the internal ruling institutions. Externally, the Ottoman State was on the defensive, and it was constantly losing territory to the European powers. Internally, the strong central government and the corporateness of its institutions were breaking up. Local magnates (ayans and derebeyis) arose as a sort of semi-feudal hereditary landlords who became a threat to the central government. The crack military corps known as Janissaries had become a self-perpetuating clique, and were, more often than not, an undisciplined band of marauders. The Ulema group were learned only in name. They organized themselves into a sort of "learned aristocracy" interested more in nepotism, concentration of political power, and accumulation of wealth, rather than in carrying out the duties of the traditional dedicated Moslem men of learning. The Sultans themselves withdrew behind the walls of their palace and lived a life of 'majestic seclusion.' More often than not, they became the slaves of the pleasures of the female body rather than of matters affecting the interests of the State.

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[1] Sir Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen, Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), Vol. I, Part I, p. 276.

Another important change was that the relative "openness" of the Ottoman ruling institutions was gradually disappearing. Nepotism, graft, and corruption replaced merit and education as the desiderata for promotion and career destination. And finally, there was a standstill in the technical and economic sectors of the Empire.

In general, the power and corporate solidarity of the Empire were waning and the Empire could not withstand the superiority of the European powers. It was this growing decadence and weakness that motivated two Sultans of the late 18th and early 19th centuries to forge plans to "modernize" or "westernize" the Ottoman institutions and the Ottoman way of life. The reforms that resulted did not revolutionize the structure of the Ottoman society. In many respects they affected only the ruling classes themselves, and not all of them at that. There was hardly any downward filtration to the masses, who continued their pristine village existence. But they did infiltrate certain groups strategically located in the power structure, and what they did, lay the foundation for what followed. Moreover, it was in the 19th century particularly that we see the beginning of a national movement destined ultimately to demolish the old order and create a new one.

Modernization-Westernization During the Ottoman Period

Early modernization aimed at the strengthening of the Ottoman state and society against the onslaught of the West. It did not stem from any love of Western ideas, but ironically from their rejection. It was a "defensive" kind of modernization initiated by the elites themselves and aimed not at the abolition, but rather the "re-formation" of basic Ottoman institutions.

In its beginning stages modernization began with the military branch of the government, the climax of which was the total annihilation of the Janissary corps by Sultan Mahmud II in 1826. But by a slow and compelling logic reform of the military spread into the administrative, social and cultural spheres. Mahmud II, sometimes described as Peter the Great of the Ottoman Empire, managed to suppress the rebellious local magnates and restore considerably the Sultan's central authority. During his Sultanate (1809 - 1839) state departments and a council of ministers were established, the civil service was reorganized, a postal service was created, and there was even a modernization in clothing and state protocol. The fez, for example, which later became the symbol of Ottoman conservatism and religious fanaticism, was introduced at this time from the West to replace the turban. And in 1839 the famous era of reforms, known as the *Tanzimat* (Reorganization) was inaugurated with the promulgation of the famous Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber.

The full story of the *Tanzimat* reforms is beyond our present scope. Suffice to mention that it was an attempt to set up a charter of "civil rights" concerning the multi-racial and multi-religious members of the Empire, the most revolutionary of which was equality of all religions in the application of the several laws included in the Noble Rescript. For our specific purposes here the outstanding aspect of these first attempts at modernization was the key role assigned to education. The basic presupposition was that a new type of education was needed for the military, the bureaucrats, and the civil servants. It is also of major significance to note that in the Ottoman Empire reform in general, and educational reform in particular, started at the top, and it began with the military. Soon, however, it became evident that a total reorganization was necessary. This meant starting from scratch, since what existed was the traditional religious and private system of *mektebs* and *medreses*. In spite of the several plans to build a graded educational system from primary schools to universities, major emphasis was placed on the upper levels of education. This was justified on what has been called the *Tuba Agaci* theory of education. In Turkish folklore the *Tuba Ağaci* was a tree which had its roots in heaven, but cast its delightful shade and fruit on the earth. As *per analogiam* reform of education should start at the top of the system, i.e., with the secondary schools and the universities. By so doing, the fruits of education would spread to the rest of the system and the society. Hence, throughout the 19th century several attempts were made to set up various kinds of schools, mostly at the post-elementary level.

Another important aspect of the educational reform of this period was the attempt to make education more of a State function than leave it completely in the hands of religious and private agencies. Thus in 1824 an Imperial ferman (edict) was issued stating that primary education was the responsibility of the State; in 1838 a government-educational official was appointed; and in 1845 a Ministry of Public Schools was established. In 1869 a comprehensive code of regulations was issued, which provided that an integrated school system of primary, middle, and secondary schools, as well as a university, be set up.

It was also during this period that the two famous schools for the training of government officials were established: the Mülkiye (set up in the fifties), and the Imperial Lise (Mektebi Sultani) at Galatasaray, which opened its gates in 1868. The Mülkiye and the Galatasarary lise grew out of the increasing need for well trained officials to staff the newly established ministries and government departments. Both schools were essentially secular in their orientation, they were government supported, and they were open to all nationalities of the Empire. The lise in particular was modeled on the European academic secondary schools, particularly on the French lycée. Indeed the first director and most of the teachers of the school were Frenchmen. It is significant to observe that what came to be recorded as an important educational institution in the Ottoman modernization movement was an academic secondary school, and essentially French at that.[2]

The introduction of foreign ideas and institutions was soon exerting a subtle corroding influence upon the intellectual and institutional fabric of the Ottoman society. A new type of elite, more secular and western in orientation was created, which set it at variance with segments of the traditional Ulema. Among the Ulema groups there were dissensions: some of the upper Ulema cooperated or sanctioned plans for reform; others reacted strongly against them. It would be true, however, to say that the majority of the Ulema group adopted an antagonistic attitude toward a Western type of education. Many of them felt that it represented infidel training, and that it undermined the religious foundations of the Ottoman society. Thus by the end of the 19th century another important bifurcation in the Ottoman society had developed, equally momentous as that of the elite and the masses. This was the cleavage between a Moslem conservative elite, bent on preserving Ottoman education and culture, and a Western-educated or Western-oriented secular elite bent on reforming it but by no means destroying it. This is an important point to bear in mind when we talk about the early attempts at modernization in Turkey. The Ottoman reformers did not envisage a revolutionary change that would completely alter the basic structure of the society, but one that would be assimilated into the Islamic Ottoman culture. The assimilative nature of nineteenth century Ottoman modernization may have been one of its cardinal weaknesses and a reason for its unspectacular success if compared with the Atatürk revolution. But we are talking here about a stage of fermentation and groping rather than one of ultimate consummation. In the field of education, Ziya Gökalp, often considered the ideological father of modern Turkey, summarized the Ottoman views on educational modernization in terms of three governing principles: Türkism, Islamism, and modernism.[3]

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[2] French educational and cultural influence has been quite pervasive until after the Second World War. The introduction of other educational ideas, particularly American, in recent years has created controversies between Francophiles and Americanophiles.

The actual role of a Western-oriented type of education in the Ottoman ideological and institutional modernization and in the growth of a national consciousness prior to the establishment of the Turkish Republic is more complex than at first appears. Some writers are quite certain and explicit on this point. Thus, for example, in his classic study _The Emergence of Modern Turkey_, Bernard Lewis, referring specifically to the Galatasaray _lise_, writes:

> The influence of the Galatasaray school on the rise of modern Turkey has been enormous. As the need for administrators, diplomats, and others with a Western education and a capacity to handle Western administrative apparatus became more and more pressing, the graduates of

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[3] By Turkism, Gokalp meant Turkish language, literature and history; by Islamism the reading of the Koran, the history of Islam and the study of Islamic languages (Arabic and Persian), and by "modernism," the study of mathematics, natural sciences and European languages as well as gymnastics and handicrafts. See Niyazi Berkes, Editor, _Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gokalp_ (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 233-235.

> Galatasaray came to play a preponderant role in the politics and administration of the Ottoman Empire and, after it, of the Turkish Republic. The Imperial Ottoman Lycée had no playing-fields, but not a few of the victories of modern Turkey were won in its classrooms.[4]

Unfortunately Lewis does not cite evidence for this. Certainly many of the graduates of this school ended up in the bureaucracy, or in the diplomatic service, but whether they held high positions in these branches of the polity, or what their actual influence was, is an open question. A breakdown of a random sample of the graduates of the Galatasaray School, in terms of vocational destinations, shows that for the most part they occupied middle positions in the bureaucracy. This would not be sufficient to repudiate Lewis' contention. But it does suggest that any influence the Galatasaray School may have exerted in the Ottoman modernization movement must be sought in what might be called the 'secondary leadership" group. It is hypothesized here that the role which the Galatasaray played lay more in providing a fertile ground and a substratum of bureaucrats, administrators, professionals and intellectuals who were ready to accept innovation and the modernization of the institutions of government.[5]

When we get into the military schools, the picture is somewhat clearer. Thus, for example, we have evidence to show that many of the activist leaders of the Young Turk movement, which was instrumental in dethroning the absolutism of Sultan Abdulhamid II, in 1906, were graduates of the newly established and Western-oriented military schools. Atatürk himself and his confrêres were products of such schools. However, it is also important to note that many other leaders of the modernization movement were products of the traditional Ottoman institutions. It is difficult in the case of Turkey to establish a direct correlation between modernization and nationalism on the one hand, and secular western education on the other. We might assume, however, that by being exposed to Western secular ideas, people also internalized these ideas and thus changed their behavior and outlook.

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[4] Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) p. 120.

[5] The same contributions, we venture to speculate, were made by other Western-modeled and secular or quasi-secular schools like the Mülkiye whose gradutes almost without exception entered the bureaucracy. The majority of these bureaucrats were not activist leaders. In fact many accepted the policies of the reactionary regime of Abdulhamid.

On the ideological front, the nineteenth century saw the genesis of certain political views which in many respects furnished the conceptual basis of Turkish nationalism and the Republic associated with Kemal Atatürk. As in the case of educational change, the political thought of one famous group of nineteenth century intellectuals, the Young Ottomans, sought to synthasize the Western with the Islamic-Oriental. The leaders of the Young Ottoman movement which, for the first time in Ottoman history, emphasized such words as nation and constitutionalism were quite diverse in terms of social and educational background. Although their formal education was mostly of the traditional-scholastic kind, they were, nevertheless, exposed to the liberal doctrines of the West and especially to those of the French liberal tradition. But in reforming the Empire, they wanted to build a modern Ottoman-Turkish nation based on Islamic traditions and beliefs; and like Gokalp who followed them, they saw no incompatibility in Islamism, Westernism, and Türkism.

Ottoman modernization and national development may be summarized as follows: First, modernization originated in and affected mostly the elite groups of the society; the masses, for all meaningful purposes, were untouched. But this very fact is extremely important. It has been observed that for rapid modernization to occur, it is not sufficient that some carrying element in the society be modernized; that element must be also strategically located in the power structure of the society. Secondly, in the process for modernization education played an important role. For the first time in Ottoman history explicit attempts were made to create a cadre of elites whose educational background, orientation and style of living would be different from the traditional ones. Different institutions were set up which were essentially secular, thus competing with the traditional Islamic religious establishments. We should, however, guard against neat categorizations and simplistic explanations. The modernizers were not exclusively drawn from the new schools, nor did they repudiate traditional Islamic values and beliefs. For several other reasons, too complicated to enter into here, even members of the Ulema and the medrese system of education participated in the movement for reform. Ottoman modernization, in short, was the result of a complex of factors partly educational, partly class, partly economic, and partly ideological.[6]

It is against such a background that modern Turkey must be examined. In building a new nation, a Turkey for the Turks, Atatürk had a great deal of the groundwork already laid. But what he had to build on was still rather amorphous.

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[6] For a fuller discussion of this theme, see Şerif Mardin, The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study of Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962); Roderic H. Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876 (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1963); Ward and Rustow, Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, op.cit., and Andreas M. Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey, manuscript.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION UNDER THE REPUBLIC

In 1923 Turkey was proclaimed a Republic and the last Sultan of the House of Osman, a decrepit old man, made an ignominious exit aboard a British man of war. One year later the Caliphate was also abolished. Thus, within an incredibly short time the whole governmental structure of the Ottoman State had collapsed. Authority was henceforth vested in a popularly elected National Assembly with Kemal Atatürk chosen as the first President of the Turkish Republic. With the proclamation of the Republic a series of reforms was inaugurated aimed at the complete modernization of the society and the creation of a national and nationalistic state inhabited primarily by Turks.

The problems that confronted the new leaders were by all counts imponderable. It was necessary not only to build a new economic, legal, social, and political structure, but also to create new values, new ideologies, and new ways of living and behaving. Atatürk had two things in his favor: he possessed the necessary political power to initiate change, and he was fortunate in that circumstances were auspicious for change to occur. The nation was defeated, prostrate, disintegrated, and bankrupt. It looked for a hero who would save it, and was ready to accept anything that would restore its confidence. Hence it rallied behind Atatürk, who seemed to combine the authoritarian elements of the Oriental ruler, the enlightenment of a Westerner, and a captivating personality that made him loved, feared and respected.

In one of his many scattered statements on the importance of education Atatürk said: "Education makes a nation either free, famous and enlightened, or poor and under the domination of others." It is no accident therefore that education figured prominently in the Turkish metamorphosis of the twentieth century. Under the Republic the educational system was reformed, and several other attempts were made to enlighten the people, to create a feeling of being members of a national entity, and to raise the general cultural level of the society.

Reform and Growth of the Educational Enterprise

By constitutional provision all education was placed under state control and supervision, and primary education was declared "obligatory for all Turks ... and gratuitous in the government schools." Consistent with the revolutionary principle of secularization, all medreses, which were identified with religious conservatism and reaction, were closed, and the Ministry of Religious Law (Şeriat) was replaced by a Presidency of Religious Affairs under the Prime Minister. These steps were followed by a series of bold strokes to undermine the influence of religion in education and the society, and to reorient the mental outlook of the people: the teaching of religion was proscribed, Arabic and Persian were prohibited as subjects in the curriculum of the schools, the symbolic fez was replaced by European-type hats, and the alphabet was changed from the Arabic to the Latin script. In addition, textbooks were rewritten with major emphasis placed upon the ethnic background of the Turks and with exaggerated and dubious theories about their origins and influence in the world. Finally, there was a reorganization of the structure of the educational system into primary and middle schools, lises, various types of vocational and technical schools, teacher training institutions, and universities.

The general public system of education as it has developed under the Republic is organized in terms of the following three types of schools: a five-year primary school (essentially concerned with the teaching of the 3 R's); a three-year middle school (orta okul) which constitutes the first cycle of general secondary education; and a three-year lise which continues the general--(primarily academic)--education of the middle school and prepares students for the universities and other institutions of higher learning.

Aside from these structural changes of the system, the educational policy of the Republic aimed at the expansion of educational opportunities and the overall increase of educational provision. Considering the deplorable state of affairs that existed in 1923, one could say that substantial progress has been made since that time.

In 1923 only a very small proportion of the entire population was at school. We do not have precise statistics, but it was probably less than three per cent;

in 1960-61 it was about twelve per cent. In sheer numbers of students the comparative figures were about 359 thousand and about 3.4 million. An interesting feature of the general growth of the educational enterprise is that there has been comparatively a larger increase in secondary and university enrollments than in primary schools. (See Table 1 in Appendix A) This perhaps indicates that the Tuba Ağacı theory of education of the Ottomans was carried over into the republican period.

The increase in school attendance was accompanied by an increase in the rate of literacy. In 1927, when the first census was taken, only 10.6 per cent of the Turkish population could be said to be literate, i.e., be able to read and write; in 1960 literacy rate was estimated at about 39.6 per cent.

In spite of such progress, educational diffusion in Turkey is not as widespread as anticipated. The latest Turkish survey on this question, based on the 1960 census, has revealed that at least one-third of the children of elementary school age were not enrolled in school; that one out of eight middle school age children was attending school; that only one out of every fourteen lise-age youth was enrolled in school; and that at least one third of the Turkish villages (about 35,500) were without schools of any kind.[1] On several other indices the existing situation is equally disconcerting. Glaring educational disparities are apparent between urban and rural areas, particularly in the case of orta and lise enrollments, among the geographical regions of the country, and between male and female attendance. Taking the regional dimension as a case in point, one could generalize that the eastern and southeastern provinces of Turkey are markedly lower in educational provision than the Western provinces. On the basis of the most recent official statistical information, and taking several measures into consideration, a report issued by the Research and Measurement Bureau of the Ministry of Education concluded:

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[1] Jefferson N. Eastmond, Educational Opportunity in Turkey: A Source Book of Facts on Education with an Analysis (Ankara: Ministry of Education, Research and Measurement Bureau, 1964), pp. 4a-5a.

> Educational opportunity, as reflected through the availability and efficiency of schools, is substantially lower in the eastern half of Turkey than in the western half. Moreover, the provinces with the most available and most efficient schools tend to be concentrated in the northwest sector of the nation. The provinces with the least efficient schools are concentrated in the southeastern sector.[2]

In assessing overall educational provision one should also bear in mind the high rate of attrition at all levels of education. According to recent statistics furnished by the Ministry of education, only about 45 per cent of the children of the appropriate age groups are enrolled in the fifth grade, while over 90 per cent are in the first grade. At the orta level we have estimated that about 36 per cent of the students who enter orta schools are not able to finish; and at the lise level only about half of those who enter are able to graduate.[3]

The decrease in enrollments at different age and class levels may be illustrated in different terms. In the year 1959-60, while 92 per cent of the six-year old children were enrolled in the first grade, 19 per cent of the eleven-year olds were enrolled in the sixth grade (the first orta class), 10 per cent of the fourteen-year olds attended the ninth grade (the first lise class), and only 3 per cent of the sixteen-year olds were registered in the eleventh grade (the highest lise class). It is interesting to note that once a student has managed to complete successfully the lise, it is virtually certain that he will continue his education in an institution of higher learning. At least this was the case until the early 1960's.[4]

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[2] Ibid., p. 4a. The measures considered in this report included enrollment ratios, female enrollments, holding power of the secondary schools, and performance on university entrance examinations.

[3] These figures were computed from statistical reports furnished by the Research and Measurement Bureau of the National Ministry of Education and by the Office of Statistics of the Republic of Turkey.

[4] More details on the overall picture of educational diffusion and opportunity are given by the present writer in Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey, manuscript.

In order to improve educational conditions in the most underprivileged areas, namely, the villages, some ingenious programs were initiated. The most celebrated experiment in this direction was the so-called Village Institutes (Köy Enstitüsü) established in the early forties. These were what might be called normal schools set up in selected villages. The Village Institutes recruited their students from the village primary schools, and their purpose was to give the youth a secondary type of education to qualify them to become primary school teachers. The graduates of these Institutes were required to take up teaching assignments in the village schools and participate actively in the social and cultural development of the villages. The village institutes, however, for political reasons, were discontinued in the fifties. They seemed to have fallen victim to Turkey's McCarthyist period. They were accused of incompetence, leftism and Soviet-style communism. Nowadays there is talk of reviving them, but no one knows what the prospects are.

In retrospect, the village institutes were a bold experiment to bridge the persisting momentous gap between the educated elites and the uneducated masses. But this problem is still acute in Turkey and is perhaps that country's greatest challenge today. The revolution succeeded in eliminating the traditional religious elites, and it represented a victory for the secular modernists. But the entire population has by no means been mobilized; nor have certain traditional bifurcations (urban-rural, elite-masses, educated-uneducated) been eliminated.

The Lise: Some General Characteristics

It was previously stated that the first lise in Turkey was established in 1868. The purpose of the Mektebi Sultani (Imperial School), as this school was called, was "to prepare young men of various religious backgrounds for all the branches of the public (civil) service, by providing a higher type of education which would be consonant with the needs of the Empire."[5] As we already mentioned, the Imperial School at Galatasaray was envisaged as an integral part of the modernization movement of the Ottoman Empire. In its first years of operation the school was quite French in character, with a French director, many French teachers, and with French as the main medium of instruction. Within less than a decade, however, the school lost much of its original French character: an Ottoman Turk was appointed director, French lost its privileged place in the curriculum and was replaced by Turkish, and the school itself moved to a completely Moslem section of the city. Henceforth, it became the model of the Ottoman sultani, a higher secondary school in the general educational system of the Empire.

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[5] Ihsan Sungu, "Galatasaray Lisesinin Kurulusu," Belleten, VII, No. 28 (1943), pp. 336-7.

The Ottoman sultani was essentially an academic institution whose main function was to educate an intellectually select group of people, an enlightened class as Gökalp called them, who would ultimately become the leaders of the society. By the time of the Revolutionary War (1919-1923) several sultanis had been established. By then also they had emerged as an important agency in the modernization of Ottoman society and the national culture. With the educational reorganization after the Revolution, the sultanis changed their names into lises, and constituted the upper level of general secondary education.

In some of its assumptions and general characteristics the modern Turkish lise has continued the tradition of the Ottoman sultani. It has been viewed not as a universal school for all, but only for those who have demonstrated intellectual and moral superiority, and who ultimately will become the leaders of the society; and its major educational function has been to provide a general academic type of instruction rather than specialized vocational training. More than its Ottoman prototype, the lise has been viewed as an important agent for the development of national consciousness and of prospective leaders who will be imbued with a nationalistic zeal. To what extent the lise has managed to recruit, select, and train the intellectually most competent students is another matter. We shall have more to say on this question when we analyze the patterns of recruitment into the lise and the values of the lise students. Such information will also shed more light on the changes that have taken place during the republican period. For in spite of obvious similarities between the sultani and the modern lise, there were also important differences.

The curriculum of the lise, like that of the sultani, has in the main been built around certain academic disciplines. During the republican period several changes were made in the amount of time spent on each subject, the emphasis given to certain subjects, notably those connected with the Turkish language and culture, and in the number of subjects to be included in the entire school course. Some of these changes reflected significant shifts in social, cultural and political ideologies. In line with the revolutionary policy to create a society based on Turkish nationalism and secularism, all Ottoman and Islamic elements in the lise curriculum were soon eliminated; in 1924 Turkish language and literature replaced Ottoman, soon to be followed by the dropping of religion; in 1928 Arabic and Persian were also dropped; the history of Turkey and the Turkish race became the staple of history courses at all levels of education; pre-Islamic Turkish literature was given more emphasis; and, after the language reform of 1927, the new Turkish Latin alphabet became the compulsory medium of writing and instruction.

The curriculum of the first lise class is uniform and compulsory for all, except for a two-hour elective chosen from music, art, and a second foreign language. It includes Turkish language and literature, history, geography, mathematics, biology, physics, chemistry, foreign languages, physical education, and military training. In the second and third classes, there are two streams: scientific and literary, with corresponding variations in emphasis. Psychology is included in the second class; and sociology, philosophy, and logic are included in the third.

Under the Republic the lise registered the greatest expansion in enrollments relative to the other levels of pre-university education. Yet, however significant this trend is, it does not in and of itself provide a sufficient index of provision or of opportunities for a lise type of schooling. Only a relatively small number of adolescents of lise age actually attend school. In Turkey as a whole only 6.5 per cent of children between the ages of 14 and 16 (the normal lise age) were enrolled in lises and lise-level institutions in 1960. Even this figure, however, belies great variations among the sixty-seven provinces of the country. In only 13 provinces is there a higher percentage than the national average; and in about the same number of provinces less than 3 per cent of lise-age children are at school. In 1962-63 the three largest cities of Turkey--Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir--provided about 38 per cent of the total enrollments in the public lises, and Istanbul alone about 18 per cent.

The foregoing observation points up another characteristic of the lise, namely, that it is overwhelmingly an urban institution. Aside from the fact that lises are located in cities or provincial capitals, the students enrolled in them are predominantly urban in origin. In the study conducted by the present writer 76 per cent of the boys and over 90 per cent of the girls described their parental background as "urban"; and over 90 per cent of both boys and girls indicated as parental place of residence towns or cities. Indeed, about 70 per cent of the boys and over 85 per cent of the girls designated "this city or town" as parental place of residence. (See Tables 3 and 4 in Appendix A). This means that the great majority of lise students come from places of over 20,000 inhabitants, which represent only 18 per cent of the total population of Turkey.

Another index of education provision and opportunity in the lise is the relative distribution of female students in the school population. In Turkey, as stated earlier, female attendance at all levels of education has consistently lagged behind that of males. In 1962-63 the female pupil enrollment in lises and lise-level institutions constituted 23.5 per cent of total enrollments. As in the case of lise attendance, there are great disparities among the provinces. In eleven provinces, mostly located in the Eastern and Southeastern sections of the country, female pupil enrollments are less than 10 per cent of the total number of students. Furthermore, the lise, like the other schools is plagued by the question of "wastage" or dropouts.

There is finally another dimension of the problem of opportunity for a lise education. This is the extent to which social and economic factors play a part in access to this level of education. This question constituted a part of the field research conducted by the present writer and is examined in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER III

THE LISE STUDENTS: WHO THEY ARE

Our purpose in this chapter is to present a profile of the lise population in terms of certain social background characteristics. Social selection as it pertains to the lise is particularly important in order to assess the "democratization" of Turkish secondary education: to what extent potential elites are recruited equitably from the diverse segments of the Turkish society or not, whether the Turkish society is an "open class society" as some have argued with ample opportunities to move up the social scale, and what differences, if any, there are among the students of the various types of lises, among boys and girls, etc. As indices of socio-economic background we shall mainly examine such family characteristics as father's occupation and parental education, and place of residence.

Paternal Occupation

Occupation has generally been regarded as an important index in social stratification. This has been particularly true in the patriarchal Turkish society. Father's occupation has also been widely taken as an important indicator of a student's social position. Our findings concerning this aspect of social selection are presented in tables 5 and 6 in Appendix A. Here we shall analyze, interpret, and comment on the most salient characteristics of the lise students in terms of the paternal occupation variable and the variations according to type of school and sex.

On a listing of ten occupational categories ranging from "higher professional" to unskilled laborers, our data show that, of the aggregate of sampled students, the single most heavily represented group is "private traders and small business people." (24 per cent) The next three in percentage representation are occupations classified as "clerical" (15 per cent), "skilled workers and craftsmen" (14 per cent), and "higher professional" (12.4 per cent). Assuming that these categories represent various steps on the prestige hierarchy, one could argue that the Turkish lise, as represented by four major types of institutions, recruits its students in balanced proportion from several status groups. This observation plus the fact that these categories range from high professionals to skilled laborers could also be adduced as evidence to refute the allegation that the lise is a socially exclusive or elitist institution. A closer examination of the data, however, reveals that this assertion is only partially true. If we combine the first five categories we find that about 44 per cent of the students are drawn from what may be called "white collar" occupations compared to 16 per cent who come from the ranks of the skilled and unskilled workers. Further, the selective character of the lise is most dramatically shown if paternal occupation were examined in connection with occupational distribution in Turkey as a whole. (See Table 6). While "farmers, fishermen, hunters, forestry, and related" constitute 62.3 per cent of the total Turkish male population, less than 10 per cent of the lise students came from such an occupational category. Conversely, "professional, technical and related" groups are proportionately over-represented: while this upper segment constitutes only 5.5 per cent of the total male population, it sends to the lises no less than 22 per cent of their students. Clearly on the basis of this evidence there are major disparities in access into the academic lises and pari passu into the high status groups in the society. Before elaborating further on this question, it would be helpful to look at other salient points in our findings.

Cross-tabulation of type of school and paternal occupation indicate quite clearly that there is a high relationship between these two variables ($X^2 = 1322.54$; D.F. = 30; significant at .001 level). In short, when students and schools are taken as the universe for drawing the sample, we could conclude that attendance at different types of schools is not independent from but is closely correlated with father's occupation. The most outstanding inter-schooltype variations of this phenomenon may be summarized as follows:

1. In the public lises, there are:
    a. more students whose fathers are small farmers, fishermen, hunters, etc., than expected;
    b. fewer students whose fathers are higher professionals or are engaged in private trades and small business.
2. In the minority lises, there is:
    a. an over-representation of "skilled workers and craftsmen"; and
    b. an under-representation of "clerical workers," or "higher professionals."

3. In the foreign-operated lises, there is:
   a. an over-representation of "higher professionals"; and
   b. an under-representation of "small farmers, fishermen, hunters, etc.," or "skilled workers and craftsmen."

Using the same method of establishing outstanding deviations between observed and expected counts,[1] it could further be said that by and large the [illegible] private Turkish lises are the most representative of the Turkish lise population in terms of the occupation variable.

Returning to what we have previously said about the selective character of the Turkish lise, our findings show that the foreign schools are the most selective of all. (59 per cent of the students in these schools are drawn from white-collar occupational backgrounds and only 1 per cent from the "agriculture" category). Also over one-fifth of their students come from the topmost occupational group, and 42 per cent from what might be called the elite classes (professional, higher technical, managerial and higher administrative). By contrast, the public and minority lises are the least "elitist."

Another interesting observation is the relatively heavy representation of what we might qualifyingly call "middle" social strata, viz., minor administrative, clerical, private trade and small business, particularly the last two, namely the "business" groups. Within these groups the largest concentrations are in the minority and the foreign schools. This finding should not be unduly surprising, especially in the case of the minority representation. Traditionally the Greek, the Armenian, and the Jewish minorities were mostly engaged in careers in business, commerce, industries and crafts. This occupational pattern continued during the early decades of the Republic, and to a large extent it still characterizes the small remaining Greek and Armenian minorities of Istanbul.

The ethnic Turkish elites on the other hand have traditionally been engaged in administrative and military occupations; and the overwhelming majority of the masses (over 75 per cent) were engaged in agriculture and services. In view of this it is not surprising that about two-thirds of all the students who come from "clerical" backgrounds (75% of a total sample of 5,000) should be in public and private Turkish lises, i.e., in schools which are almost completely Turkish in ethnic composition.[2] Such an occupational characteristic of the Turks would also explain the relatively high representation of agricultural occupations (small farmers, fishermen, hunters, etc.) in the public lises, and the relatively low representation of these groups in the minority and the foreign lises.

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[1] In addition to the computation of overall X^2, the X^2 of each individual cell was also computed. The above observations are based on the largest (plus or minus) cells on a X^2 table of "normal deviates."

Even though the "agriculture" category is under-represented relative to the composition of the Turkish population, the fact that 23 per cent of the students in the public lises are drawn from such a group should not be discounted. This represents a change since the Ottoman sultani which was mostly limited to the white-collar segments of the society. Considering also the fact that another 13.4 per cent of the students in the same schools are drawn from "skilled workers and craftsmen," one could say that the public lise in Turkey is as much a "popular" as it is an elite type of lise.

Distribution According to Sex:

The privileged position of the male in the Ottoman and Turkish culture has been a subject frequently commented upon. During the Ottoman period only girls from the urban higher classes received any schooling; and even among such classes the numbers of "educated" women were considerably small. Women's education in the rural areas was nonexistent; the religious mekteb was a boys' school. In general the Ottomans did not educate their women. The policy of the Republic was to extend educational opportunities for women. As to the type of education they should get, Atatürk said: "It is important that the education of our sons and our daughters be the same at all stages of education."[3]

It was stated earlier that, although there have been increases in female enrollments during the republican period, women's education in Turkey continues to lag behind that of boys. We also noted substantial regional and urban-rural disparities. As expected there were more boys than girls in our aggregate sample, and the same imbalance was found regarding the several occupational categories. But our findings also show that, in general, girls come from higher occupational groups than boys. While one-third of the girls were drawn from the three uppermost groups (professional, higher technical, managerial and higher administrative), less than one-fourth of the boys came from the same groups. The sharpest deviations were in the "agriculture" and the "higher professional" categories. There are more girls and fewer boys than expected whose fathers are higher professionals; but there are fewer girls and more boys than expected whose fathers are small farmers, fishermen, hunters, etc.

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[2] These figures are taken from the tabulated data not shown in the Appendices.

[3] Hasan Ali Yücel, Türkiyede Orta Öğretim (Istanbul: Devlet Basimevi, 1938), p. 26.

Parental Education

Traditionally education has been a valued good in Turkey. With the introduction of Western education in the nineteenth century, Western languages, particularly French, and attendance at Western-oriented schools carried great prestige. It gradually acquired immense functional value and became an important differentiating characteristic of eliteness. For the non-elite classes education was an important if not the most important means of social mobility. This was true even among the rural peasant masses. A modicum of education set the individual higher on the social scale than his illiterate covillager. The functional value of education continued after the Revolution and characterizes the Turkish social structure today. Education has been described as the "hallmark of the elite"; and Daniel Lerner has observed that it is a crucial factor in differentiating the Turks into traditionals, transitionals, and moderns.[4] The examination, therefore, of the lise population in terms of this social background characteristic becomes particularly important for several reasons. In the first place, it will shed more light on the social selectivity of the lise and the degree of equality of educational opportunity. Since formal education in Turkey is one of the most important avenues for social advancement; and since a lise education represents a level of attainment shared by a very small minority of the Turkish population; it would appear that the educational background of parents when viewed against the present educational level of offspring will allow us to comment on the degree of social modility in tha society. Thirdly, both of the above considerations will help us assess social change and modernization during the republican period.

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[4] Lerner, op.cit., pp. 47ff.

Our findings on this question are presented in Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10 in Appendix A. It will be observed that more than half of all the _lise_ students have fathers with a secondary (middle, technical, _lise_) or higher education (mothers are somewhat less educated); the fathers of more than one third (38 per cent) have a _lise_ or higher education, while 26 per cent of the mothers have attained an equivalent level; and 16 per cent of the fathers compared to 4 per cent of the mothers have completed a university.

The data on parental education acquire greater salience if examined against the educational level of the Turkish population at large (See Table 8). While 38 per cent of our aggregate of students have fathers who completed secondary or higher education, _only 7 per cent_ of the Turkish male population 15-64 years of age have the equivalent in formal schooling. More strikingly: while 31 per cent of the mothers have attained this level of education, _less than 1 per cent_ of the female Turkish population have had that privilege. The selective character of the Turkish _lise_ is revealed further by noting that while over 60 per cent of the Turkish population are totally illiterate and therefore may be said to have had no or very little schooling, 80 per cent of the _lise_ cohorts have fathers who completed an elementary or post-elementary school.

These findings illustrate quite clearly that relative to the educational level of the Turkish population the _lise_ students are recruited from a small and well-educated class of parents. Stated differently: parental educational background plays an important part in access to the Turkish _lise_. Combined with our findings on the occupational background variable our data suggest that children of well-educated, white-collar parents have more chances to enter a _lise_ than noneducated, black-collar or peasant groups.

As in the case of the occupational characteristic, cross-tabulations show a high relationship between type of school and father's education. (X^2 = 1264.24; D.F. = 33; significant at .001 level). On the basis of this, we could conclude that attendance at different types of schools is not independent from but is closely correlated with the educational level of the father. Likewise, type of school is significantly related to mother's education. ($X^2 = 1527.35$; D.F. = 33; significant at .001 level).

The most outstanding inter-schooltype variations of these phenomena may be summarized as follows:

1. In the public lises, there are:
    a.. more students than normally expected whose fathers and mothers "never attended school" or went as far as the elementary school;
    b. fewer students than normally expected whose fathers and mothers completed a university; and
    c. fewer students than normally expected whose mothers have more than middle-level schooling.
2. In the minority lises, there are:
    a. so many more students than expected whose fathers and mothers attended but did not complete an elementary school; and
    b. so few students whose fathers completed a university.
3. In the foreign lises, there is:
    a. an over-representation of students whose fathers and mothers completed a university; and
    b. an under-representation of students whose fathers and mothers have elementary education or less.
4. As in the case of the occupation criterion, the private Turkish lises by and large are the most representative of the Turkish lise population in terms of the "education" variable.

Again our findings show that educationally the foreign schools are the most selective of the four types of lise (43 per cent of the students in these schools had fathers with "college education," but only 1.5 per cent had never attended school, and 10 per cent had an elementary education or less). In contrast, the public lises and the minority schools are the least selective.

Despite the obvious selective character of the lise as a whole, certain observations in its recruitment patterns, especially those of the public lise, lend additional support to what we said earlier, namely, that the lise is much more of a "popular" institution than the sultani. For example, the very fact that one-fifth of the students have fathers who had not "attended or completed elementary school" bespeaks favorably of the "democratizing" policy of the Republic. More conspicuous are the findings regarding students in the public lises, which, it should be remembered enroll by far the largest number of lise-age adolescents. In these schools 17 per cent of the students are the offspring of fathers who "never attended school," and who by inference are in all likelihood totally illiterate. Likewise, one-third of the students in the public lises indicated that their fathers "have not attended or completed an elementary school," and more than half that their fathers had elementary schooling or less.

Finally, it is quite obvious that the majority of the lise students by virtue of the fact that they are in the lise have already reached a level of education considerably higher than their parents. Assuming that level of education is important in social and occupational mobility, we can reasonably say that within this segment of the Turkish population is reflected a substantial degree of mobility. This assertion, as we shall see later, is further reinforced by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the students in all four lise types aspire and expect to continue their education into an institution of higher learning, and desire to enter careers which are ranked very high in the prestige hierarchy.

Distribution According to Sex:

Our findings on the educational background characteristics of boys and girls lend further validity to the observations we made concerning the occupation variable. Generally the parents of female students are better educated than the parents of males. (See Tables 9 and 10). Cross-tabulations indicate a significant relationship between sex and paternal education ($X^2 = 330.45$; D.F. = 11; significant at .001 level), and sex and maternal education ($X^2 = 452.11$; D.F. = 11; significant at .001 level). Particularly outstanding are the following deviations:

a. Relatively fewer females have parents who have "never attended school," or who have had elementary schooling or less.

b. Relatively more females have parents who "completed university."

The "emancipation" of the Turkish woman has been an avowed policy of the Turkish modernizers. Modern Turkish writers speak with pride about the progress that has been made. Some of them, however, tend to exaggerate. One such writer eulogized as follows:

> . . . But most important of all are the thousands of Turkish girls who crowd the high schools and the universities in competition with men. Moreover, these are the daughters of rich and poor, educated and illiterate--ordinary Turks--all equally eager for schooling. . . In the flow of Turkish life, their joint desire to educate their daughters, and their amusement together on holidays, dramatizing the dissolution of the patriarchal family into a conjugal unit, is vastly more meaningful than any outstanding performance by a handful of barristers, politicians, or educators.[5]

Our study casts doubts at this encomium of Turkish progress in female education. Although in the lises of today there are more girls than ever before; although it may also be the case that more illiterate parents than before send their daughters to "high schools"; the fact remains that girls in the lises with illiterate parents represent only a mere "trickle" of the total population even in the urban centers. The more educated the parents are the better a girl's chances for a lise education and pari passu for higher education. It would appear, therefore, that so far as post-elementary education is concerned, vestiges of the traditional Turkish preference for the education of the boy to that of the girl still persist.

Urban-Rural Variations

The lise, as we previously stated, is essentially a city school. More than that: it is disproportionately concentrated in the three largest cities of Turkey, namely, Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. Moreover, all minority and most of the foreign lises are located in Istanbul alone. Under such circumstances, it would be natural to expect that the majority of the lise students would be "urban" in origin. Our findings, as indicated earlier, cooroborate this statement. (See again Tables 3 and 4). Here it would suffice to comment further on some glaring disparities, particularly among types of schools and between boys and girls.

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[5] Eren, op.cit., p. 181.

Clearly, the minority and the foreign lises are the most urban of all the four types; and, relatively speaking, the public lises the least urban. Further our findings show that the lise in general is not only an urban school; it is also a local school in that it recruits most of its students from the town or city in which it is located and from places nearby. The minority lises are the most urban and the most local.

Taking the boy-girl urban-rural dimension, we have found that girls are decidedly more urban in origin than boys. While about three-fourths of the boys described themselves as "urban," more than 90 per cent of the girls did so.

Concluding Generalizations

Our findings on the social background characteristics of the students in the Turkish lises suggest the following generalizations:

1. Subject to certain qualifications, especially in public lises, urban white-collar children, whose parents are also well educated, are over-represented in the lises. Or to state the generalization in another way: Children whose parents live in cities, and large cities at that, are engaged in white-collar occupations, and are well-educated in terms of formal schooling they possess, have greater chances for a lise type of education than other children.

2. Boys are over-represented compared to girls, but girls tend to be more urban and are generally drawn from more educated and from occupationally higher backgrounds.

3. Relative to educational background of parents the lise students have already attained a higher educational level. This suggests the hypothesis that the lise population represents a mobile segment of the Turkish society.

CHAPTER IV

THE LISE STUDENTS: THEIR LEVELS OF ASPIRATION AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Development or modernization have been found to be influenced by the students' perceptions of the occupational and educational paths open to them, their motivations, and the particular types of education and employment they seek. An understanding of students' perceptions and goals would also provide some guidance for the effective mobilization of human resources and for educational and economic planning. All these considerations apply mutatis mutandi to education in a developing country like Turkey. They are particularly relevant in the case of the Turkish lise, traditionally regarded as the training ground for the "creative minority" of the Turkish modernizers. In conjunction with levels of aspiration we shall also examine the related questions of expectations, and the students' perceptions of the occupational structure.

Desire More Schooling

Over 90 per cent of the students want to continue their education after completing the lise. As shown below, similar high percentages were registered in all types of schools, except the minority lises.

Type of School	Yes	No	Undecided
Public	96	1	3
Private	93	1	6
Minority	83	4	13
Foreign	91	2	7
Aggregate	91	2	7

A higher percentage of boys than girls want to continue their education, but the difference is not very great. (93 per cent and 86 per cent respectively).

When we turn to educational expectations, however, the picture was quite different. To the question: "Sometimes, of course, we cannot always get what we want. Looking realistically at your future, do you think you will be able to continue your education after you have finished the lise?" The responses were as follows:

Type of School	Will Certainly Continue	Have a Good Chance	Will Certainly Not Continue
Public	36	53	11
Private	44	49	7
Minority	21	69	10
Foreign	42	52	6
Aggregate of Students	37	55	8
Boys	42	50	8
Girls	28	63	9

It seems, therefore, that while the overwhelming majority of the students want to proceed to an institution of higher learning, among a great many there is some uncertainty as to whether they will be able to do so. The most noticeable deviation from this is the minority students. One could hypothesize that there is more uncertainty among these groups, the great majority of whom are Greeks and Armenians, because of their uncertain place in the Turkish society. The strained relationships between the Turks, the Greeks, and the Armenians dating back to the Ottoman period is a well known fact. And the exacerbation of sentiments in the mid-fifties (the 1956 riots in Istanbul), as well as the more recent feud over Cyprus and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, may have contributed to this discrepancy among the students of the Greek minority lises. (These students constituted the majority in our "minority" sample).

Desired Institution of Higher Learning

In seeking to gauge educational aspirations we also looked into the types of institutions of higher learning to which the students want and expect to go. The results are presented in Tables 11 and 12 in Appendix A. It is interesting to observe that 70 per cent of all students want to go to a university; that about one-half to three universities in Istanbul (Istanbul University, Istanbul

Technical University, and Robert College); and that 39 per cent to Istanbul University and Istanbul Technical University. The figures are about the same for the students who expect to continue their education, which includes those who are certain and those who feel they have"a good chance" to attend an institution of higher learning.

Cross-tabulations show that there is a significant relationship between type of school and "aspired" or "expected" institution of higher learning.

(Aspire--X^2 = 1043.58; D.F. = 33; significant at .001 level)
(Expect--X^2 = 969.82; D.F. = 33; significant at .001 level)

The most outstanding inter-schooltype deviations may be summarized as follows:

1. In the public lises:
    a. More students than expected want and expect to go to Ankara University or to a higher teacher training institution; and
    b. Less students than expected want and expect to go to Robert College.
2. In the private Turkish lises:
    a. More students want and expect to go to the Middle East Technical University.
3. In the minority lises:
    a. So many students want and expect to go to Istanbul University; and
    b. So few students want and expect to go to Ankara University or to the Middle East Technical University.
4. In the foreign lises, there are:
    Many more students than expected who want and expect to go to Robert College.

Some of these observations are quite easy to explain. It is unlikely that one would find children of the minorities of Istanbul who would want to attend school in Ankara (Ankara University, Middle East Technical University), in Erzurum (Atatürk University), or in Izmir (Ege University). Such minorities are quite localized in Istanbul. It is also perhaps understandable that among the students in the foreign-operated schools a relatively large number should wish to go to Robert College, itself a foreign-operated institution. Another school favored by these groups is the Middle East Technical University perhaps again because of its "foreign" orientation. Interestingly enough this latter university is the one most heavily desired by the students in the private Turkish lises.

It is also noteworthy to see that relatively very few students want to go to schools of commerce, technical higher schools, the agricultural Ege and Atatürk universities, educational institutes, or higher teacher training schools. An exception here is the public lises, but only where teacher training institutions are concerned. At least 28 per cent of all students want to go to the two most famous technical universities (Istanbul Technical and Middle East Technical). This latter finding, as we shall see later, is partly explainable by the fact that high engineering careers are the most prestigious in Turkey and these two universities train precisely for such occupations. But the relatively low aspirations for more middle-range technical or commercial education, and for agricultural or teacher training, poses some problems for the development of the country. Such preferences are more clearly shown on Table 13 where "expected" faculties are tabulated. Only about 10 per cent of all students expect to enter such faculties as Agriculture, "Management, Administration, Economy," and "Teacher Training."

Table 13 indicates some other interesting points. Hardly any students expect to study "religion" or to enter "Army, Navy, Air Force" Academies. This illustrates a tremendous change since the Ottoman days when military careers were very much sought after, and when religion occupied a more important place in the society. We shall comment further on both of these points later in this study. In contrast, the one single university faculty most popular among the students is "Engineering and Related," followed by "Medical and Related" and "Science." This clearly indicates another shift in the types of training sought by the "more privileged" segments of the Turkish society. And if we accept the proposition that there is some sort of relationship between these types of knowledge, and development or modernization,[1] then the lise pattern as shown by students' expectations is a step in the right direction. We should caution, however, that there are imbalances in the educational aspirations of lise students. Furthermore, the quality of university training, the types of jobs engineers, scientists, etc., take up in the society, and the role they perform in modernizing the society are as important as actually carrying the badge of an engineer or a scientist.[2] Finally, we have some evidence that many of the students in the Middle East Technical University, for example, although aspiring toward engineering careers prefer not to work in Turkey.[3]

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[1] See Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Education Manpower, and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resource Development (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), pp. 24-26, 92-93.

Educational Aspirations and Expectations and Social Origins

Tabulations of father's occupation and parental education on the one hand, and aspirations or expectations to continue education after completion of the lise on the other, warrant the following statements:

a. The great majority of the students want to continue their education no matter what their father's occupation is. (Over 84 per cent in each occupational category). No particularly outstanding deviations or patterns were recorded, except a slight variation in the case of the "semi-skilled" category, but the total number of students in this group was only 25.

b. However, there is a relationship between father's occupation and educational expectations ($X^2 = 301.17$; D.F. = 20; significant at .001 level). Particularly striking were the following deviations (See Table 14 for figures).

1. More students than normally expected from the high professional category "will certainly be able to continue their education."
2. More students than expected from the category of farmers, fishermen, hunters, etc. "will certainly not be able to continue their education."
3. Fewer students than expected from the category of skilled laborers and craftsmen"will certainly be able to continue their education."

c. The great majority of the students want to continue their education no matter what the level of their father's or mother's education is (over 87 per cent in each educational category). No particularly outstanding deviations or patterns were recorded.

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[2] For further discussion of this question, see C. Arnold Anderson, "Economic Development and Post-Primary Education," in Post-Primary Education and Political and Economic Development, edited by Don C. Piper and Taylor Cole (Durham, N.C. Duke University Press, 1964), pp. 1-26.

[3] J. L. Tucker "A Report on the Future Plans and Family Backgrounds of Middle East Technical University Students," mimeographed. Tucker concluded: "The surprising finding is that 2 out of 3 students who will terminate their education at the undergraduate level and who will work are not planning to work in Turkey." p. 4.

d. In the case of father's education and educational *expectations* (X^2 significant at .001 level) the following deviations were found:

1. More students than expected, with fathers who never attended school or attended an elementary school but did not finish, "will certainly not be able to continue their education."
2. *Fewer* students than expected, with fathers who completed a university, "will certainly not be able to continue their education."
3. Conversely, more students with fathers who completed a university "will certainly be able to continue their education."

e. Similar observations as in d. above were recorded in the case of mother's education and educational expectations.

Desire High-Level Occupations

In Table 15 we present our findings concerning the types of jobs to which *lise* students aspire and what they expect to get. The data show quite clearly that over 75 per cent of the *lise* students want to enter white-collar careers. Most revealing is the fact that about 60 per cent of the students want to enter the most prestigious occupations (the topmost three), and about one-half the so-called "free professions." Equally striking is the low interest in careers in "business," "agriculture," middle range technical jobs, and in the crafts. No striking differences are apparent among the four types of schools.

Female job aspirations (Table 16) seem to be similar to those of boys except for three outstanding deviations: (a) Relative to males, fewer females aspire toward the highest professions; (b) Relative to males, more females aspire toward clerical jobs; and (c) relative to males, more females aspire toward careers as "skilled workers and craftsmen."

More striking than "educational aspirations--expectations is the imbalance between *occupational aspirations* and *occupational expectations* (Table 15). The sharpest contrasts between what the students want and what they expect to get may be seen from the following figures, summarized from Table 15.

Occupational Category	Aspired % of total	Expected % of total
White Collar (topmost five)	77	57
Higher professional	48	23
Professional	58.5	35.5
Clerical	16	21
Private Traders etc.	2.6	5.4
Unidentified, etc.	16	29

The most striking inter-schooltype variations are:

1. Relative to the other lises, more students in the foreign lises expect to become higher professionals;
2. More students in the minority lises expect to become "unskilled" workers; and
3. More students in the public lises expect to become "clerical."

On the basis of the above, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that the lise students are relatively "realistic" about their future occupational destinations. We know that the occupational structure of Turkey is considerably "peaked" and constricted at the top. The opportunities, even among lise students, to attain positions at the top of the status hierarchy are very limited. We venture to suggest, however, that even with the apparent degree of "realism" that exists, students in the lises seem to expect more than what they are likely to get. At least from what follows below this would appear to be true for the types of "professional" preferences lise students have.

Since so many students aspire toward and expect to enter the "free professions" (serbest meslekler) we sought to find out what the pattern of preferences is within this occupational category. We identified ten occupations within the "professional" category (lawyer, dentist, doctor, pharmacist, scientist, nurse, "businessman," architect, and engineer). Then students were asked the following question: "If it was in your power, which of the following occupations would you prefer most? (choose only one)." The results are tabulated according to type of school and sex in Tables 18 and 19 in Appendix A.

A revealing finding is that as many as 25 per cent of the students prefer the careers of "engineer" and "architect." Adding "scientist," as many as 46 per cent prefer these three careers. Among boys the figures are even higher. These findings also reinforce some of the observations and statements we made earlier in this chapter concerning certain imbalances and trends. Some of the inter-schooltype variations and variations according to sex are also noteworthy. (In both cases cross-tabulations between school and professional preference, and sex and professional preference, showed X^2 significant at .001 level).

1. Relative to other schools:
   a. More "public" students prefer "engineer" but more "foreign" students prefer "architect";
   b. less "public" students prefer "businessman," and
   c. more "minority" students prefer "doctor," but less "architect" and "engineer."
2. Relative to sex:
   a. More females prefer "pharmacist," "journalist," "architect,"
   b. Less females prefer "businessman" and engineer; and
   c. More females prefer "nurse." Interestingly, however, very few girls (39 out of a sample 1,803) want to become nurses.

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations and Social Background

As in the case of educational aspirations and expectations we have examined occupational aspirations and expectations in relation to such social background characteristics as father's occupation and parental education. Our findings warrant the following statements and generalizations:

1. Father's occupation and job aspirations:

   In general no matter what the occupation of the father, students aspire to about the same types of occupational careers. Regardless of what their fathers do, the great majority of students in the lises (about 75 per cent in each case) want to enter "white collar" occupations. Likewise, in almost all individual cells, over one-half of the students indicated that they wanted to enter the professions and high technical careers. Here we might mention a point to which we will return later in this chapter. *In general students as a whole, aspire to enter occupations different from those of their fathers.*

2. *Parental Education and job aspirations:*

   In general, no matter what the educational background of parents, students aspire to about the same types of occupational careers. (See Tables 20 and 21). Regardless of level of education of father or mother, the great majority of students in the *lises* (over 70 per cent in each case) want to enter "white collar" occupations. Likewise, in almost all individual cells, over one-half of the students indicated that they wanted to enter the professions and high technical careers.

3. *Father's Occupation and job expectations:*

   Cross-tabulations indicated a high relationship between the two ($X^2 = 515.19$; D.F. = 100; significant at .001 level). Proportionately more students whose fathers are higher professionals, private traders and small businessmen, small farmers, fishermen, hunters, etc., and minor administrative, *expect* to enter the same occupations as their fathers. Also proportionately more students whose fathers are farmers, etc., expect to enter clerical careers.

4. *Paternal education and job expectations* (*See Tables 22 and 23*):

   A high relationship was observed between father's and mother's education, and occupational expectations (in both cases X^2 significant at .001 level). The data indicate the following outstanding deviations:

   a. Relative to other levels of parental education there are more students with uneducated parents who expect to be clerical workers, small farmers, etc.;

b. Proportionately more students whose fathers "completed university" expect to enter high professional careers;
c. Proportionately fewer students with uneducated parents expect to enter the high professions; and
d. Proportionately more students whose mothers "completed lise" expect to enter the high professions.

Occupational Prestige

In our analysis above we made frequent references, explicitly or by implication, to the status of occupations and to certain changes in republican Turkey concerning this phenomenon. In order to clarify further the question of occupational prestige and to shed more light on emergent occupational patterns, we asked students to rank, in terms of prestige, clusters of occupations, as well as particular jobs within certain clusters. Students were first given a list of eleven occupational categories ranging from "free professional" to "skilled laborer" and "farm owner." Then they were asked to rank them (1 to 11) according to the prestige and respect which in their opinion "people in Turkey" accorded them. We record below how students ranked as "first" these categories.

Occupational Category	Highest Prestige Ranking (%)	
	All Students	Boys
Free professional	43	47
Diplomat (ambassador, consul, cultural attache)	27	24
Education (teacher, principal, etc.)	7	7
Businessman (big)	6	7
Military Officer	5	7
Religion	2	3
National Government Official (Devlet memuru)	2	2
Farm owner	1	less than one
Business executive or official (e.g. insurance company, bank official, etc.)	1	less than one

Within the "free professional" cluster occupations were ranked as follows:

Free professional	Ranking (in per cent)	
	All students	Boys
Scientist	31	32
Engineer	29	33
Medical Doctor	22	19.5
Lawyer	7	7
Pharmacist	3	2
Religious Leader	2	2.5
Journalist	1.8	2
Dentist	1	1

Asked to rank eleven occupations that had to do with the national and local government, the students' answers were:

Government (Official)	Ranking (in %)	
	All students	Boys
Diplomat	33	29
Deputy in Assembly	31	35
Judge	14	17.5
Military Officer	7	7
Governor of sub-province (Kaymakam)	2.3	3.5
National government official (devlet memuru)	1.0	1.1
Müdür (regional director)	1.0	1.3
Non-commissioned officer	.3	less than one
Muhtar (village headman)	.3	less than one
Nahiye Müdürü	.1	0

A third occupational cluster was "business and labor." Student ranking was as follows:

Business and Labor	Ranking (in %) All Students	Boys
Manufacturer	47.6	50
Merchant (*tüccar*)	16.0	16.6
Building Contractor	9.6	11.6
Independent large farm owner	6.5	9.0
Mechanic	2.8	4.0
Private business executive or official	2.0	3.0
Bank Official	1.6	1.6
Small farm owner	.9	1.0
Agricultural worker	.9	1.0
Factory worker	.5	less than one
Small merchant	.3	less than one
Accountant, bookkeeper	.1	0

These data reinforce some of our previous findings and observations. They underline the high prestige accorded to the free professions and upper white collar groups, the low prestige given to the military, the religious leaders, "business," and the "bureaucracy" (except the upper eschelons). In this respect they indicate the emergence into prominence of different occupational categories, as well as a changing pattern of occupational prestige. An important caveat here is the fact that business careers among the ethnic Turks continue to rank low on the occupational prestige, although some change has taken place since the Ottoman days.

In order to get a clearer picture of the degree of occupational and social mobility under the Republic we have juxtaposed grandfather's and father's occupational background, and students' occupational aspirations and expectations. (See Table 24). Grandfathers, fathers, and sons represent three generations: prerepublican, republican and contemporary. It is apparent that there has been a shift from rural-agricultural and "unskilled" pursuits to "white collar" (professional and official), and skilled careers. Within the "white collar" category, the rise into prominence of the professional and high technical groups is particularly important. The major thrust, however, regarding this latter phenomenon appears to be taking place today. The change from father to son is much more conspicuous than that of grandfather and father.

Summary and Concluding Generalizations

The foregoing findings and analysis warrant the following summary statements and generalizations:

1. The students of the present-day Turkish lise aspire and expect to get more education than their fathers and mothers.

2. Such individuals also aspire and expect to get higher status occupations than their fathers.

3. No matter what the social background of the student, in terms of father's occupation and parental education, the great majority of the lise students want to continue their education.

4. No matter what the social origins of the student, in terms of father's occupation and parental education, the lise students aspire to about the same types of occupational careers. Regardless of background, the majority of the students aspire toward the high status occupations.

5. Regarding educational expectations, there is some difference between children from high status professional groups compared to the "farming group," and between children of highly educated parents compared to those of non- or little-educated parents.

6. Regarding occupational expectations, there is some difference between children of highly educated fathers and children of non- or little-educated parents.

7. Subject to the qualifications in 5 and 6 above, the fact that aspirations and expectations are not linked in any very significant manner to the social origins of the students suggests the absence of status sub-cultures which "control" access into the lises, and which create a "caste" system of opportunity.[4]

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[4] For a parallel to this relative "openness" of the system, the case of Ghana is particularly interesting. See Philip J. Foster, "Secondary Schooling and Social Mobility in a West African Nation," Sociology of Education, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Winter, 1963), pp. 169-170.

8. Compared to the Ottoman period, the example of the lise students illustrates a change in the occupational prestige hierarchy: military and religious careers and certain careers in the bureaucracy have lost their early high status. On the other hand, the traditional low prestige of careers in business, in trade and in middle-level technical occupations tends to persist.

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CHAPTER V

THE LISE STUDENTS: EXPLORING THEIR ATTITUDES AND VALUE SYSTEMS

Modernizing a society or building a new nation implies more than just a structural reorganization or change, expansion of opportunities, increase in literacy, etc. More fundamentally, perhaps, it implies change in what Lucian Pye has termed "the human dimension" of social existence.[1] Millikan and Blackner put it as follows:

> The underlying requirement for change in these areas (politics, economics, and social structure) is the modernization of attitudes. Modernity is a style of life. The ensemble of behaviors that compose the modern style is given its coherence by a frame of mind--toward the here and hereafter, toward permanence and change, toward oneself and ones fellowmen.[2]

Essentially Lerner's classification into "traditional,' 'transitional," and "modern" hinges on variations in values, habits of mind, beliefs, and world outlook.[3]

In view of this crucial aspect of modernization and the fact that in building a new society the new Turks sought to bring about a total metamorphosis of their culture and institutions, we deemed it necessary to look into some of the values and attitudes of Turkish youth concerning themselves and their outlook on certain aspects of Turkish culture. This is particularly relevant in the case of the lise youth, a relatively well educated group from whose ranks will emerge many of the

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[1] Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, Copyright: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1962), ch. i., pp. 3ff. Pye uses the term in connection with politics, but clearly its application can be extended to other spheres of social life.

[2] Max F. Millikan and Donald L.M. Blackner, eds. The Emerging Nations: Their Growth and United States Policy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961), p. 19.

[3] Lerner, op.cit., ch. II, pp. 43ff. On this social psychological aspect of modernization, also see Lucian W. Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 14-20, 149-151.

future modernizers (the 'creative minority'). Further it would shed some light on whether an important segment of the Turkish society has "internalized" certain aspects of the Kemalist ideology.

Secularism

Secularism was one of the basic principles of Atatürkism and as such continues to be an activating force in Turkish modernization. It is also considered to be a basic desideratum for a modern polity and a modern society. Not unexpectedly, secularism has been one of the most debated aspects of Turkish twentieth century development, and it continues to be an area of concern among Turcologist and Turkish policymakers.[4]

We have previously referred to the various reforms initiated after the proclamation of the Republic to secularize education. To recapitulate: the entire system of public instruction was unified and brought under the supervision and control of lay authorities; the religious medreses were closed and religious instruction was dropped from the curriculum; the study of Arabic and Persian, which was associated with the Islamic tradition, was discontinued in the schools; and the language was reformed. In addition, however, concerted efforts were made to reshape the values and attitudes of the people (including the religious ones) along rationalist and secular principles. To what extent this has been accomplished for the society as a whole is a moot question and a subject of discussion and some research. Here we shall only examine the attitudes of the lise students, an urban and relatively highly educated segment of the Turkish youth.

The responses to certain items bearing upon religion and secularism, although by no means unequivocably conclusive, suggest that among the lise youth there is a strong identification with the tenets associated with the revolutionary secular ideology. Explicit references to religious values and principles as guides to action or as important elements in the development of the individual were very seldom made. One item in the questionnaire asked students the following: "As a parent what two specific things (lessons) will you try hardest to teach your children?" The number of students who gave answers which could be classified as emphasizing the importance of religion was extremely small. (See Table 25 for first and Table 26 for second). This question was identical to one included in a cross-national study entitled Youth's Outlook on the Future. by Gillespie and Allport.[5] It was also used in two other studies involving Turkish youth, one by Hyman, Payaslioğlu, and Frey,[6] and the other by Frey, Angell and Sanay.[7] Our study validated further some of the observations of the two latter studies dealing with Turkish youth. "Religious" values seem to occupy an "insignificant" place in the value system of the lise youth as reflected in the "lesson most important to teach children" item. More than half of the students indicated that "ethics and morals" was the first most important lesson (about 55 per cent).[8] This type of response, which was expressed in ethical or moral rather than in religious terms, was also found to be the most preferred one in the Hyman and the Frey surveys. A comparison between our own findings with those of the Gillespie and Allport survey would lend additional support to the latter's assertion that "the virtues of honesty, truth-telling, reliability, decency, and integrity" are acclaimed by student populations in a quite diverse variety of cultures.[9] Likewise, a comparison of the two studies indicates that the Turkish lise students are not significantly more religious than the American college students, and they are less religious than the German or Italian youth. These observations, however, do not in and of themselves answer sufficiently the degree of secularism pervading the value orientation of the Turkish youth; nor should they be construed as implying the absence of any differences from American youth or from the youth of other cultures. We shall have occasion to comment further on these questions below. We might in the meantime refer to some other items that bore on the place of religion in the value system of the lise youth.

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[4] The most recent and most comprehensive study on the subject is Berkes' The Development of Secularism in Turkey, op.cit. Almost all writers on modern Turkey pay particular attention to the issue of religion and secularism in Turkish politics and culture. Particularly see Lewis, op.cit., pp. 410-418, Kemal Karpat, Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 271-292.

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[5] Gillespie and Allport were concerned with college students in the following countries: United States, New Zealand, South Africa, Egypt, Mexico, France, Italy, Germany, Japan and Israel. James M. Gillespie and Gordon W. Allport, Youth's Outlook on the Future: A Cross-National Study (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955).

[6] Herbert Hyman, Arif Payaslioğlu and Frederick W. Frey, "The Values of Turkish College Youth," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Fall, 1958), pp. 275-291.

[7] Frey, Angell and Sanay, op.cit. Some of the findings of this study are reported in Ward and Rustow, op.cit., pp. 224-228.

[8] The coding for this question was identical to that used by all the three aforementioned studies. Under "ethics and morals" we included answers which emphasized general ideas of how people should behave in relation to each other. We included all answers which emphasized ethics, manners, etiquette, proper conduct, honesty, sincerity, kindness, "goodness," etc. Also such answers as "to aid the poor," "to help others," "to benefit humanity," etc.

[9] Gillespie and Allport, op.cit., p. 9.

In the previous chapter (Chapter IV) we analyzed our data on students' aspirations and expectations, and their perception of the occupational structure. Another look at the appropriate information reveals that the lise students ranked religious career very low in terms of prestige; that an insignificant number aspires toward such a career; and that an equally insignificant number of students expects to study religion at an institution of higher learning. The Frey survey concluded that the only time that the students showed pro-religious interests was when about 69 per cent of the group examined indicated that they felt "some form of religious belief (was) necessary to a fully mature approach to life."[10]

Generally speaking there were no significant variations between boys and girls on attitudes toward religion.

In attempting to analyze attitudes toward religion or secularism in a society which emerged from an Islamic theocratic background and which is still overwhelmingly Moslem in its religious composition, it is necessary to look into other aspects of the value system of the people. For it should be remembered that Islam was an all-encompassing ideology penetrating the entire system of beliefs, attitudes, and habits of mind of the people. Islam was both a religion and a social philosophy; it minutely regulated even the interpersonal relations of the members of the society; and it dominated a person's total outlook on life and the world. Thus in a sense the entire structure of a person's value system may be said to have been related to his "religion."

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[10] Frey, op.cit., p. 226. A comparison with similar data in the Gillespie and Allport survey indicates that the Turkish youth examined by Frey and his associates are more like American and Egyptian college students and unlike Japanese and Israeli youth who scored low on this index. See table by Gillespie and Allport, op.cit., p. 57.

It would follow, therefore, that the revolutionary philosophy of secularism which aimed at dislodging Islam from its privileged position and substituting different ethical, political and cultural values, attitudes and beliefs was itself multi-dimensional. A person's perception of his ability to shape his own destiny; his outlook on his future, on the people around him, his nation, and the world; his attitudes toward his elders and toward women; his views about politics and the rulers, etc., all these aspects of his "personality" are, therefore, important indices of the extent to which secularism has penetrated the cultural ethos of the new Turkey. Although below we treat them separately we should like to stress their bearir upon what we have discussed thus far.

Youth's Outlook on Themselves, Their Life, Their Nation and Their Future

Characteristic doctrines of traditional Islamic ideology were "submission," "resignation," and "fatalism." The very word "Islam" means "submitting [oneself or one's person to God]," and Muslim (or Moslem) signifies everyone who so "submits" himself.[11] This attitude tended to stifle individual initiative and innovation. Atatürk's purpose was to inculcate a spirit of independence, a rational "scientific" approach to life, and a positive feeling that the individual is capable of shaping his destiny and combating the vicissitudes of his existence. Several questions in our study sought to explore these complex and elusive characterological aspects of Turkish youth. Here again we tried to follow the Gillespie and Allport model and its adaptation in the Hyman and Frey surveys. Indeed some of the questions we asked were identical to those in the aforementioned studies.

Kismet (fate)

Students were asked to "agree" or "disagree" with the following question: "When a man is born the success he is going to have is already "in the cards," so he might as well accept it and not fight against it." Our findings, presented in Table 27, reveal a stronger belief in kismet among the lise youth than among the college youth in the Hyman survey. (The comparative figures were: 14 per cent in the Hyman survey and 24 per cent in ours). There was no difference between males and females. The most significant difference was among types of schools: while over 20 per cent of the students in the public, private Turkish, and minority schools answered in the affirmative, only 14 per cent in the foreign-operated schools did so.

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[11] H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey (Mentor Books, 1955), p. 11.

These findings would seem to indicate that even among such a select segment of the Turkish society there still persist--to a relatively high degree--vestiges of the traditional predeterministic philosophy of life. In this connection, however, we should also like to point out that as students progress along their lise school course they tend to reject "fatalism." A breakdown of their responses by class (school grade) shows a decrease of "agree" answers in the second lise class, and yet a further decrease in the third and last class. By the time the students complete their lise education they seem to be more like the college students in the Hyman survey. One could, therefore, advance the hypothesis that amount of education is inversely related to adherence to the traditional belief in kismet: the more education one has the less one is likely to regard "fate" as determining one's success in life.

Authority and Authoritarianism

Traditional Islamic society was based on an authoritarian normative pattern. This was reflected in the relationships between the individual and the "government" (the Sultan, the officials, the village elders), between man and woman, husband and wife, father and son, older and younger brother, etc. In all interpersonal relationships there was the same deferential attitude by those of "inferior" status to those of "higher" status. Position in the status hierarchy and age determined the distribution of authority.

One of the aims of the Atatürk revolution was to break down this pattern of authority. Through several reforms a "democratic" governmental machinery replaced the Ottoman theocratic and absolutistic structure; the law of the Şeriat gave way to Western legal codes; and all traditional symbols of authority were discarded. Several other measures were taken to redefine along "modern" lines the status of women and the young. The much vaunted revolutionary principle of "populism" sought to place all authority in the hands of the people, and to build a new state along the democratic doctrines of individual freedom and responsibility, equality, and active popular participation in the polity. Here again to what extent republican Turkey has succeeded in altering the value systems of the people in the direction of modernization-democratization is still a moot question and the subject of considerable concern. To repeat what we said earlier: it is not sufficient to change the machinery of government or the structure of social institutions along what are considered to be modern democratic patterns or forms. There must at the same time occur a parallel transformation of basic attitudes and values concerning the self and the relationship of the individual to the multiple aspects of his society at large.

Impressionistic accounts and some empirical studies of this aspect of the modernization process reveal that basic value patterns among the masses of the population have not altered to any substantial degree. This certainly appears to be the case more of peasant Turkey, the seventy odd per cent of the Turks who live in the more than 35,000 villages. In the much publicized A Village in Anatolia, Mahmut Makal, a young village teacher who was trained in a village institute, painted a dismal and discouraging picture of village culture. In reading this revealing document one gets the impression that the people of Nurguz, a village in central Anatolia, are but mere modern shadows of the bucolic and "primitive" Ottoman Anatolian peasant. Almost all the traditional modes of thinking, behaving, and feeling seem to have been totally unaffected by the ideology of modernity. One encounters the same fatalism, the same patterns of authority, the same suspicion about the "outsider" and the government official, and the same customs and superstitions as in pre-republican days. A few excerpts from this book would suffice to highlight the persistence of the traditional normative pattern. When a health officer read aloud to the villagers two pamphlets on "Pure Water Supple," and "Measles," published by the Ministry of Health, he was told:

> There's no sense in that! As though any doctor could oppose the will of God! It is Allah who gives and He who takes away. We should be thankful for the present day. We are alive, and what is the good of that? Day in, day out, it's our lot to curse our bad fortune--and that is a sin; as for these little innocents (the pupils), leave them alone to join their mother angels in heaven.[12]

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[12] Mahmut Makal, A Village in Anatolia, trans. from the Turkish by Sir Wyndham Deedes (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1954), p. 11.

On the office of the "Muhtar," the village headman, Makal writes:

> To become a Muhtar of the village, the first essential is to own property; and the next, to have plenty of friends and relations. In this way you gain votes, and will be elected Muhtar. No one bothers to find out whether you are competent to discharge the duties of the position or not! Where the seal is, there is the power. . . Once you become Muhtar, your status as an Aga, or elder, increases, and the poor treat you with greater deference. "If you come and reap my crop, I'll take you on as watchman next year"; that's what is said, and that's the way you get your work done for nothing.[13]

And on the position of women, he adds:

> If the young show respect for the old, the respect shown by women towards men is infinitely greater. Here, the position of women in relation to men is the exact opposite of that accorded them in civilised life. In the eyes of the villager, women are practically of no value whatever. . . On the other hand the woman is completely dependent on the man. She dare not do anything against his orders. The man will lie on his bed and order her about: "Wife, do this," or "do that." . . . The man can strike her, curse her, beat her up, make her weep, cause her pain, and she may not say a word.[14]

In a study of another Anatolian village an American cultural anthropogist observed that "status is acquired primarily by growing older." He continued:

> All men over 50 years of age ordered everyone else around, except men of their age or older, and I never saw anyone refuse to follow the orders. Old women ordered all of the other women around, but usually restricted their ordering of men to those quite young. All of the middle-aged men and women were able to order the young adults around, and so on down the line. As a matter of fact, anyone could give orders to anyone younger than himself of the same sex, but men could order women around who were older than they were.[15]

Admittedly, such places do not represent the whole of rural Turkey, nor all the villages in central Anatolia. Robinson, for example, reports that when he visited Alisar in 1949 he noticed many "physical changes" since 1932.[16] And

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[13] Ibid., p. 64.

[14] Ibid., p. 68.

[15] Joe E. Pierce, Life in a Turkish Village (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 78.

[16] Robinson, op.cit., pp. 126-127.

Daniel Lerner's Balgat changed from a "traditional" peasant community to a suburb of Ankara in four years! Yet Balgat cannot be taken as typical or as reflecting a country-wide change for the simple reason that it is so close to a fast growing metropolitan center which is also the capital of Turkey. Nor does Robinson's Alisar represent "physical" let alone "normative" changes in the country as a whole. Indeed, while pointing to the quick transformation of Balgat, Lerner also notes that the "traditionals" in Turkey far outnumber the "moderns" and the "transitionals." According to him, they compose "well over half" (about 60 per cent) of the Turkish population "even today." And his description of their "psychic traits" as well as their outlook on life, is not substantially dissimilar from Makal's observations. Their institutions, Lerner writes, "usually are authoritarian, patriarchal, changeless; the values they enjoin are loyalty, obedience, inertia. The whole complex forms a 'courage culture,' in which absence of curiosity is a primary component ('theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die').[17]

Lastly, a few words on the populist doctrine of political participation would not be inappropriate. One frequently adduced index of political participation is voting. Observers of the Turkish political scene have often commented on the amazingly high percentage of eligible voters (men and women) who actually cast their ballots at the national elections since 1950. (For example, in the 1950 and the 1954 elections the percentages were 89 and 81 respectively). A recent nation-wide survey of Turkish villages and peasant attitudes indicated that over 90 per cent of the village population claimed that they voted in a national election.[1] Yet, however remarkable this phenomenon may be considering the total absence of such electoral participation in traditional Turkey, it also belies the important fact that casting a vote in and of itself is neither an indication of a "participant individual" nor of an intrinsically democratic polity. In many modern dictatorships, for example, one could find even higher percentages of people voting. And so far as the Turkish peasant being a "participant" in the political process, Makal's vivid account of a conversation among peasant women in front of the voting booth is quite revealing:

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17. Lerner, op.cit., p. 133.

18. Frederick W. Frey, "Five Nations Plus One: Comparative Survey Research on Political Efficacy," unpublished manuscript, p. 11.

> In front of the school I overheard the conversation of a row of women who were waiting in a queue to give their votes. They too had listened to instructions. One of them was saying in a cheerless tone to those around. "Oh dear--a new fellow has turned up who calls himself a democrat. We're recording our votes for him, they say. It's all his papers that my husband gives out. They say he'll make everything cheaper. What name is it?--this one or that? They say we'll have a Moslem world again, and that it will be just like it was in Sultan Hamit's time..."[19]

In reporting on the findings of the national survey mentioned above, Frey adds the following qualification: "Lest these data inspire too lofty a picture of peasant political life in Turkey, we must add that there is considerable evidence that many of the villagers are more voted than voting. . . The politicization of the peasant is a gradual process which produces, in its intermediate stages, some rather grotesque forms of political man."[20] Lerner, addressing himself to political coercion in general, writes:

> Much of what has been done, and continues to be done, in the name of the Turkish Republic wears an unlovely aspect in the eye of a Western observer. Coercion has been called in to pinch-hit for persuasion on many occasions, not because the opposition had filled the bases with winning runs but because the manager was nervous. Arbitrary abuse of the central power recurs too often to be overlooked in any serious account of Turkey today. While the voters were triumphantly participating in the 1954 election Hüseyin Cahit Yalçin, editorialist of the opposition People's Party paper Halkci and dean of Turkish journalists, was confined in the Usküdar prison in Istanbul, sentenced to 26 months for editorials displeasing to the government. Similarly, when the editors of another opposition party paper Millet accused the government of dictatorial methods in August 1954, the government promptly justified the charge by clapping them in jail.[21]

And all this before the army coup of 1960, the subsequent trial and imprisonment of countless high government officials, the execution of three major political figures including the Prime Minister, the incarceration of the President of the Republic, and the outlawing of the Democrat party!

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[19] Makal, op.cit., p. 141.

[20] Frey, "Five Nations Plus One. . .," op.cit., p. 12.

[21] Lerner, op.cit., pp. 126-127.

Against this background of village traditionalism and authoritarian politics and all that such terms connote, as well as the relative "absence" of what are often regarded to be basic normative patterns of a modern democratic polity, how did the lise students respond to certain questions bearing on these themes?

It appears that the often-mentioned Turkish trait of deference to age persists even among such a relatively well educated and select group. To the question "Respect is due an older person no matter what kind of person he is," over 70 per cent of the aggregate of students answered in the affirmative. The figures were highest among the public lise students (83 per cent) and lowest (58 per cent) among the "foreign" students. (See Table 28). Female responses were slightly higher but not appreciably so (77 per cent as against 71 per cent among males).

Two questions, one of which was taken from the Gillespie and Allport scale, sought to gauge the degree of "suspiciousness" among the lise youth. The identical item read: "The world is a hazardous place in which men are basically evil and dangerous." Students were asked to express two shades of agreement or disagreement. Although very few students indicated that they "completely agreed," 40 per cent checked the two "agree" choices (See Table 29). The highest "agree" figures were recorded among the "minority" students (49 per cent) and the lowest among the public lise respondents (35 per cent). Compared with the sample in the Gillespie and Allport study, the Turkish students are considerably more "suspicious" of others than the college youth in the United States, Germany, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, and the English South Africans; they are less suspicious than the Egyptians and the Bantu South Africans; and they are about the same as the Mexican youth and the Afrikaner South Africans.[22]

A greater degree of "suspiciousness" was recorded on the other item which simply read: "People can be trusted." Forty-five per cent of all the respondents "disagreed." Unlike the "hazardous world" item, 22 per cent "completely disagreed." (See Table 30). Interestingly the female figures were higher than the male (50 and 41 respectively).

On the other hand, there appears to be a great deal of optimism and little "alienation" among these youth. Another question taken from the Gillespie and

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[22] Gillespie and Allport, op.cit., p. 58.

Allport scale was worded as follows: "Concerning your personal future, would you say that in general you feel: (1) enthusiastic, (2) hopeful, (3) indifferent, (4) resigned, (5) embittered?" The responses (see Table 32) show that generally the lise youth are quite optimistic about their future: they are less "indifferent, resigned, and embittered" than the French, the Italian, the German, the Japanese, and the Israeli youth, but more than the youth in the United States, New Zealand, South Africa, Egypt and Mexico.[23] Even though they seem to be still "tied" by vestiges of the traditional view of man and his role in the society, the lise youth appear to represent a group of people who are mindful of the tenets of the Revolutionary ideology and Kemal's charge to them, namely, that with determination they could build the type of society they wanted. The overwhelmingly positive responses to another item in our questionnaire suggest that Atatürk's message has taken root among at least the lise youth. Students were asked to express two shades of agreement or disagreement with the following statement: "If we have sufficient will-power and determination, no difficulty can divert us from our path." Over 90 per cent of the respondents "agreed." (See Table 31).[24]

Nationalism

The last point made above leads into another important Kemalist charge to the Turkish youth. Kemal's famous marathon speech, delivered from the 15th to the 20th of October, 1927, at Angora before the deputies and representatives of the Republican Party of which he was the founder and the head, ended with his equally famous "Message to the Youth." Illustrative of the significance attached to this "message" is the fact that it has become a veritable creed among the Turks and is being framed and conspicuously exhibited in every school in the country. The "Message to the Youth" in part reads as follows:

> This holy treasure I lay in the hands of the youth of Turkey. Turkish youth! Your primary duty is ever to preserve and defend the National Independence, the Turkish Republic. That is the only basis of your existence and your future. This basis contains your most precious treasure. . . The strength that you will need for this is mighty in the noble blood which flows in your veins.[25]

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[23] For comparative figures on the youth of these cultures, see Gillespie and Allport, p. 59.

[24] The same question, asked of a wider representation of secondary school level youth by Frey and his associates, yielded similar high "agree" reactions. See Ward and Rustow, op.cit., p. 224.

[25] A Speech Delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal President of the Turkish Republic October 1927 (Leipzig: K.F. Koehler, 1929), pp. 723-724.

Like nationalism in the newly-emerged countries, Turkish nationalism, a fundamental and all-pervasive principle of the Revolutionary ideology, has been a subject of much discussion, analysis, and some concern.[26] Nationalism in Turkey drew its afflatus from the West, but its development was also conditioned by the peculiar political and cultural environment of Turkey. In the first place, it asserted freedom from foreign domination and an unquestioned loyalty to a nation-state. In the second place, it demanded loyalty to a republican form of government and was based on the legitimacy of popular sovereignty. Thirdly, it brooked no internal ethnic, racial, or ideological dissention or conflicts of interests as those exhibited by minority groups (the Kurds, the Greeks, and the Armenians), or by the Pan-Islamists, the Pan-Turanists, and the Pan-Turkists.[27] In short it would not be an exaggeration to state that Turkish nationalism has been unitary and uncompromising. Further, it appears to this writer that the Turks, like the people of many nations which have asserted and attained their independence from occupying powers, or which have suddenly rejected traditional institutions and have adopted the trappings of modern democracies, have not yet managed to distinguish between two things: nationalism and national sovereignty, i.e., freedom from external or traditional domination, and what might be called a personalist internal type of freedom, i.e., an autonomous view of the individual, a view of personal responsibility and of control of one's destiny, and the basic democratic principle of freedom to disagree. Much of what we said under "authority and authoritarianism" in the previous section as well as on the above-mentioned characteristics of Turkish nationalism would suggest that our hypothesis of the confounding of nationalism with a democratic system of beliefs and values could be substantiated with further research. Here again, however, the lise youth may be "different" from the more tradition-bound Turkish masses.

From several items in our study we could with justification assert that a substantial number of the lise youth is intensely nationalistic. On this characteristic the youth are quite similar to the Egyptians, the Mexicans, the

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[26] For a good analysis of the various dimensions of Turkish nationalism, see Karpat, Turkey' Politics, op.cit., ch. 9, pp. 251ff.

[27] These "Pan- movements" envisaged a much larger and more polymorphous polity stretching beyond the confines of the Anatolian peninsula. Atatürk's aim was more limited. In his words: "To work within our national boundaries for the real happiness and welfare of the nation and the country by, above all, relying on our own strength in order to retain our existence." A Speech, etc., op. cit., p. 379. On ethnic internal divisions, one need mention the suppression of the Kurds, the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, and the "fate" of the Armenians.

Bantus, and the Afrikaners in the Gillespie and Allport study. "To be of service to my country," "to love God and country," "to be polite and patriotic," these were frequent responses to two particular questions: the one already discussed (two most important lessons to teach children), and another which read: "What is the most important thing you have gained from your schooling up to now?" Answers with similar nationalistic overtones frequently occurred when students expressed reasons why in their opinion certain occupations had high prestige, or when students expressed their occupational aspirations and preferences. "Usefulness or service to our country" was often stated as reason for the high prestige of doctors, engineers diplomats, teachers, etc., and for wanting to become such. It was also cited as a reason to "why do people get an education?"[28]

The Lise Youth in the Turkish Culture: Some Concluding Comments and Generalizations

In this chapter we have sought to explore some attitudinal characteristics of lise youth in Turkey, and to find out in a more concrete and empirical way, whether one could establish any clearly defined "patterns." Such an inquiry, it must readily be admitted, has certain limitations and drawbacks. Probing into the "affective domain" of a person's or a nation's life is a very complex and often elusive undertaking. It is not so much that a person's psychic structure is often inscrutable and not amenable to concrete analysis. More so perhaps is the fact that the variables with which one deals are so polymorphous and complex that analysis and interpretation more than tax the observer's energy and imagination. In investigating the social-psychological aspects of development or modernization one must always enter a cautionary note: namely, that social science methods and techniques in this field are themselves in the process of development. Moreover, in seeking to measure attitudes and values and in interpreting data in developing societies by applying instruments validated in Western developed countries or by using certain concepts one runs the risk of reading too much into one's findings and of drawing hasty and simplistic conclusions. We should like, therefore, to stress once again the exploratory nature of this part of our study.

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[28] Similar observations were recorded by Frey who writes: "One other finding warrants special mention: namely, the relatively high degree of nationalism displayed in the answers; this became abundantly clear when the Turkish responses to the relevant questions were compared with answers to the same questions from the United States or Europe." See Ward and Rustow, op.cit., p. 226.

We are assuming, however, that, in spite of the many limitations of such inquiries, in order to understand the ethos of a culture it is necessary to go beyond impressionistic or anectodal accounts, random collections of individual case histories, etc., and look for certain patterns or degrees of consensus.[29] Further, it is pertinent to remark that, in spite of cultural variations, most developing societies aspire toward what appears to be certain commonly understood universal or "world" values. Lucian Pye has commented on "cosmopolitan" or "world culture" as follows:

> We cannot dwell here on the content of the world culture; it is sufficient to observe that it does have a degree of inner coherence, and it is generally recognized as being the essence of modern life. It is based upon a secular rather than a sacred view of human relations, a rational outlook, an acceptance of the substance and spirit of the scientific approach, a vigorous application of an expanding technology, an industrialized organization of production, and a generally humanistic and popularistic set of values for political life.[30]

In the light of these considerations and the observations made in this chapter, how may the lise youth in Turkey be described? It is patently clear that in many respects they are different from what we have described as "traditionals" Turks. Generally the majority of them are secular in their attitude toward religion; they are optimistic about their future; they are an aspiring group mindful of their role in building a new society; they seem to be "achievement" oriented; and they are relatively "mobile." On the other hand, our study suggests that the Turkish lise youth have by no means completely freed themselves from traditional cultural encumbrances. Strong vestiges of authoritarianism, of prejudice (revealed in the

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[29] For further comments on the justification, fruitfulness, and limitations of this type of research, see Gillespie and Allport, op.cit., pp. 1-3. For more details on the "cross-cultural method," see John W.M. Whiting, "The Cross-Cultural Method," in Handbook of Social Pscyhology, ed. by Gardner Lindzey (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), Vol. I, ch. 14. On social psychologic analysis of national characteristics see Alex Inkeles and Daniel J. Levinson, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Socio-Cultural Systems," Ibid, Vol. II, ch. 26.

[30] Lucian W. Pye, "Democracy, Modernization, and Nation Building," in Self-Government in Modernizing Nations edited by J. Roland Pennock (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 15.

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CHAPTER VI

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The overarching theme of this study was modernization in Turkey, a movement which began with the Ottomans in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and has been an activating force in the development of the Turkish Republic created in 1923 after a revolution. As part of this attempted Turkish metamorphosis, the study focused mainly on one particular social institution: namely, the secondary school known as lise. Two aspects of the lise were examined: first, changes in its structural features since 1868 when the first lise was established; and second, changes in its social functions. In connection with the social aspect of the lise, which also constituted the major part of the research, the study focused on the students enrolled in such an institution. Our aim was to view modernization in terms of certain characteristics of an important segment of the Turkish population, the potential elites of the country from whose ranks will ultimately emerge many of the crucial "creative minority."

The first lise in Turkey--the Galatasaray Sultani--was "borrowed" directly from France. Structurally it was essentially a replica of the French lycee. As such it belonged to the family of the Western academically-oriented schools whose main educational function was the provision of a general, primarily humanistic, type of training for a relatively select social group. In a religiously-oriented educational environment as the Ottoman was, the lise was somewhat of an educational anomaly. But it did reflect a growing concern over the future of the Ottoman Empire and the consequent efforts to readjust to the demands of a world that was undergoing major political and social changes. As part of the modernization-Westernization movement, the lise sought to train a different cadre of civil servants and political leaders from the traditional ones, who would ultimately initiate or sustain social and political change. Although originally a "foreign" institution, the lise gradually became an integral part of the Ottoman society. This functional transformation was accelerated under the Republic, and the lise has become one of the key institutions in the modernization and development of twentieth century Turkey. In other words, an originally Western institution was gradually translated into the emerging Turkish social system and body of beliefs. Today the lise is as much Turkish as the medrese was Ottoman Islamic.

Such a functional transformation is not peculiarly characteristic of Turkish development. Similar adaptations have been found to have occurred in other societies, particularly in those which have emerged from colonial rule in Africa and Asia. The difference between the Turkish case and that of African nations which have attained independence from British rule, for example, is that in the latter, European patterns were "transferred" or introduced by the occupying power; the Ottomans introduced European models themselves. But the processes at work once "foreign" institutions were transplanted on to the "receiving" social and cultural soil were essentially similar. This observation has important implications for research involving education in developing countries. The point has often been made,[1] and our study of Turkish education supports it further, that merely looking at the form of educational systems does not in and of itself furnish a complete or adequate picture of educational change. One must probe further into the "social dynamics" of educational institutions, the meaning which they acquire for the indigenous population or segments of it, the impact they have on the social and occupational structure as well as on political development and general cultural change, etc. Furthermore, such types of inquiries would be of immense value to the policy-maker and to those engaged in social, economic, and educational planning. It is considerations of this kind that underlay our analysis of the lise population in terms of social recruitment and selection, levels of aspiration and expectation and normative patterns. Since summary statements and concluding generalizations were included at the end of each chapter it would be redundant to repeat them here. But it would be relevant to comment further on some points suggested by our findings which might provoke further discussion and provide impetus for further research.

Being essentially Turkish, as we have maintained, the lise reflects some of the bifurcations and the problems of the Turkish society and the Turkish state. The Turkish society is still sharply divided between an educated small elite and a relatively uneducated (indeed illiterate) populace. Under such circumstances, the lise, being a major avenue for high status as well as for entrance to universities and to an already very highly educated political elite (over 80 per cent of the members of the Grand National Assembly and of the higher civil service are university graduates) tends to perpetuate rather than to bridge this gap. To put it differently: education in the lise might also be viewed as an institutional mechanism of inequality!

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[1] See for example, Philip J. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (London: Rutledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1965). This book is scheduled to be released in the summer of 1965. The writer has had occasion to look at proofs.

In the political realm Turkey has been beset by instability, extra-legal means of attaining political power, authoritarianism and the like, even though the political structure has the external trappings of a Western type of democracy. This might very well be the result of economic factors; or, to use terms recently in some vogue among the more psychologically-oriented political scientists, it may be a consequence of the fact that basically the Turks' "concept of self" has remained the same. The lise youth, as we have implied before, although potentially a modernizing group and one that displays similarities with youths of stable democratic cultures, nevertheless, exhibit certain traits characteristic of the traditional authoritarian Turkish culture.

If we turn to their occupational aspirations and expectations, it appears that even with the manifest degree of "realism" concerning their future career destinations, the lise youth are not devoid of "wishful thinking." Moreover, considering the employment opportunities, the job distribution and manpower projections, it appears that their thinking is channeled in the direction of occupational sectors already crowded or not particularly high on projected priorities. This may have a bearing on the "realism" and effectiveness of the recent five-year plan for Turkish economic development. Also, with the rapid and, relative to the non-academic schools, imbalanced increase of lise enrollments, there is the possible danger of unfulfilled aspirations, of unemployment or of underemployment. To an extent this has been happening in Turkey. But, by and large, the majority of lise graduates have been able to find a place in an institution of higher learning and some sort of satisfying job. But there are already visible signs that unless the educational and employment opportunities are brought into closer harmony with the expectations of the lise products, there may be serious repercussions for the future modernizing course of the nation.

TABLE 2

NATIONAL TRENDS IN SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS, 1923-1962

Year	Primary	Orta	Lise	Vocational and Technical (Middle level institutions)	Teacher Training (elementary)	Institutions of Higher Education	
						All Institutions	Universities
1923-24	336,061	5,905	1,241	6,547		2,914	
1930-31	489,299	27,093	5,699	9,296		4,331	
1935-36	688,100	52,386	13,622	9,231		7,227	
1940-41	955,967	95,332	24,862	20,264		12,844	10,310
1945-46	1,357,740	65,608	25,515	54,248		19,273	14,367
1950-51	1,616,626 (1,602,198)a	68,187 (61,737)	22,169 (19,022)	52,177	16,301	24,815	18,405
1955-56	1,983,086	131,450 (126,227)	33,412 (30,675)	63,117 72,675b	17,629	37,192	26,822
1959-60	2,564,195 (2,528,401)	253,474 (229,875)	58,954 (54,812)	69,775 98,010b	21,216	52,060	34,304
1960-61	(2,785,039)	(277,566)	(68,600)		23,494	62,872	41,114
1961-62	(3,148,449)	(317,938)	(82,062)		26,872		44,637
1962-63			97,337 (88,232)				

a ( ) enrollments in public schools

b These are the figures given by the National Institute of Statistics. The difference in the enrollment figures is explained by the fact that the Institute includes enrollments in teacher-training institutions.

Sources: T. C. Basbakanlik Istatistik Genel Müdürlügü, 1959 Istatistik Yilligi, Yayin No. 380, pp. 144-168; Ilk ve Orta Dereceli Okullarda Ögrenci ve Ögretmen Sayilari ile Ilgili. Arastirma Raporu. (Ankara: Test ve Arastirma Bürosu, 1961), p. 20; T. C. Basvekalet, Devlet, Istatistik Enstitüsü, Milli Egitim Istatistikleri Meslek, Teknik ve Yüksek Ögretim, 1953-1960; Yayin No. 438, p. 3. Maynard, op. cit., p. 58. The figure for 1962-63 was collected by the present writer through a questionnaire.

TABLE 3

Urban-Rural Parental Background of *Lise* Students (percentages)

Parental Background	Public Lises (N=1063)	Private Turkish Lises (N=1507)	Minority Lises (N=932)	Foreign-Operated Lises (N=1327)	Total Students		
					Total Students (N=4829)	Boys (N=3020)	Girls (N=1819)
Urban	60.5	81.7	89	95	82	76	92.5
Rural	39.5	18.3	11	5	18	24	7.5

TABLE 4

Parental Place of Residence of *Lise* Students (percentages)

Location	(N=1077)	(N=1554)	(N=941)	(N=1342)	(N=4 14)	(N=3057)	(N=1851)
This city or town	66.3	75.6	86.8	75	75.5	69.1	86.7
Another city or town in this vilayet	9.1	6.4	4.6	5.4	6.4	7.5	4.3
Nearby village in this vilayet	8.9	4.4	2.3	1.2	4.1	5.7	1.4
City or town outside this vilayet	9.6	11.5	3.8	17.6	11.3	14.1	6.6
Village outside this vilayet	6	2.1	2.4	.8	27	3.6	1

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TABLE 5

TABLE 5
PATERNAL OCCUPATION OF LISE STUDENTS
(percentages)

Occupation	Public (N 1369)	Private Turkish (N 1442)	Minority (N 924)	Foreign (N 1264)	Aggregate of Students in all lises (N 4923)
Higher Professional (doctors, engineers, scientist, univ. prof. etc.) (1)	5.0	16.0	3.7	22.8	12.4
Professional and higher technical (2)	6.6	9.4	10.8	11.5	9.4
Managerial and Higher Administrative (3)	5.0	8.0	1.2	7.7	5.7
Minor Administrative (4)	2.1	1.6	0.4	0.7	1.3
Clerical (5)	20.2	16.6	4.0	16.2	15.2
Private trades, small business (6)	13.5	23.7	32.0	29.9	24.1
Small farmers, fishermen, hunters, etc. (7)	22.9	8.8	4.0	0.9	9.9
Skilled workers and craftsmen (8)	13.4	8.4	33.7	5.6	13.8
Semi-skilled workers (9)	0.6	0.6	0.5		0.5
Unskilled (10)	4.9	2.8	4.4	0.2	3.2
Unidentified (11)	5.5	4.0	5.2	0.9	4.4

TABLE 6

PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF LISE STUDENTS AND OCCUPATIONS OF TURKISH MALE POPULATION

(percentages)

Occupation	Male Population 15 years and over in 1960	Public	Private Turkish	Minority	Foreign
Professional, technical and related	1.6	11.6	25.4	14.5	34.3
Administrative, clerical and related	3.9	27.3	26.2	5.6	24.6
(a) Sales worker and related	4.0				
(b) Private traders, small businesses		13.5	23.7	32.0	29.9
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, forestry and related	62.3	22.9	8.8	4.0	0.9
Workers in mine quarry and related	0.6				
Workers in transport and communications	2.7				
Craftsmen, production process workers	8.5	13.4	8.4	33.7	5.6
Unskilled workers	4.1	4.9	2.8	4.4	0.2
Workers associated with "services" (e.g., entertainment, sport and recreation)	3.8				
Unidentified and without occupation	8.5	5.5	4.0	5.2	0.9
Total	100.0	99.1	99.3	99.4	96.4

Source: 1960 Genel Nufus Sayimi, Yayin No. 433, P. 20. The percentages in each category of schools were estimated from those on Table XI.

TABLE 7
PARENTAL EDUCATION OF LISE STUDENTS
(percentages)

Level of Education (highest level of schooling)	Public		Private Turkish		Minority		Foreign		Aggregate of Students in all *lises*	
	Father (N 1370)	Mother (N-1389)	Father (N 1450)	Mother (N 1455)	Father (N 915)	Mother (N 920)	Father (N 1274)	Mother (N 1284)	Father (N 5031)	Mother (N 5072)
No schooling (never attended school)	17.4	42.4	7.0	16.1	6.3	8.8	1.6	2.8	8.0	18.2
Attended but did not complete elementary school	15.8	15.5	9.4	9.5	25.1	19.5	4.0	3.4	12.0	11.0
Completed elementary school	18.6	20.6	10.8	16.0	16.7	22.6	4.7	11.0	12.0	16.7
Middle school (attended and/or completed)	13.4	10.4	13.1	20.2	21.2	26.4	10.7	28.0	13.3	20.0
Attended but did not complete *lise*	3.8	1.8	6.1	5.8	7.3	4.7	8.2	9.7	6.0	5.2
Completed *lise*	4.0	2.1	8.9	10.6	10.9	11.7	11.1	15.9	8.0	9.5
Vocational or technical school (attended and/or completed)	7.6	2.7	6.1	6.7	0.4	0.7	7.1	6.8	5.2	4.0
Higher institution (Yuksek Okul) (attended and/or completed)	2.3	0.5	5.2	2.9	2.1	0.4	7.7	3.0	4.0	1.4
Attended but did not complete university	0.7	0.1	2.6	1.9	1.2	0.5	3.5	3.7	2.0	1.4
Completed university	4.4	0.4	21.0	4.2	3.3	0.3	31.2	8.2	15.2	4.3
Another school	10.0	2.2	7.2	3.3	3.0	2.3	7.5	4.2	7.0	3.0
Unknown	2.0	1.3	2.5	2.7	2.3	2.0	2.7	3.2	2.3	2.0

TABLE 8

PARENTAL EDUCATION OF LISE STUDENTS AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE TURKISH POPULATION 15-64 YEARS OF AGE (1960)

(percentages)

Level of Education (highest school completed)	Turkish Population 15-64 years of age		Aggregate of students in all lises		Public		Private Turkish		Minority		Foreign	
	Male	Female	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	F.	M.	F.	M.
Have not attended or completed elementary school	60.6	90.0	20.0	29.2	33.2	57.9	16.3	25.6	31.4	28.3	5.6	6.2
Completed elementary school	31.9	8.4	12.0	16.7	18.6	20.6	10.0	16.0	16.7	22.6	4.7	11.0
Completed secondary school (orta and lise)	4.4	0.5	15.1	22.1	10.5	1.9	16.0	6.3	21.0	4.7	17.0	8.6
Completed vocational and/or technical school	1.4	0.2	4.4	3.6	6.1	0.6	4.7	1.5	0.3	.0	6.0	1.5
Completed university or equivalent higher institution	1.3	0.2	18.8	5.4	6.2	0.1	25.0	1.7	4.3	.0	37.3	2.6
Unknown level of schooling completed	o.4	o.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: 1960 Genel Nufus Sayimı. Yayin No. 433, p. 32. The percentages in each category were estimated from those on Table XIII and from other tabulations of the data collected by the author.

TABLE 9

PATERNAL EDUCATION OF LISE STUDENTS - BY SEX

(percentages)

Fathers Education	Sex Male N 3223	 Female N 1778	Total N 5001
1) No Schooling (never attended school)	11.9	1.8	8.3
2) Attended but did not complete Elementary	14.6	9.0	12.6
3) Completed Elementary	14.2	9.3	12.4
4) Attended and/or completed Middle School	14.0	14.2	14.1
5) Attended but did not complete Lise	5.6	7.4	6.2
6) Completed Lise	7.0	11.2	8.5
7) Attended and/or Completed Vocational/ Technical	5.1	6.8	5.7
8) Attended and/or completed Higher Institution (Yuksek Okul)	3.7	5.9	4.5
9) Attended but did not complete University	1.4	3.3	2.1
10) Completed University	12.3	22.3	15.8
11) Attended another school	7.8	6.5	7.3
12) Unknown	2.5	2.3	2.4

Table 10

TABLE 10

MATERNAL EDUCATION OF LISE STUDENTS - BY SEX

(percentages)

Mother's Education	Sex		Total N 5040
	Male N 3255	Female N 1785	
(1) No Schooling (never attended school)	26.2	4.7	18.6
(2) Attended but did not complete Elementary	12.6	9.2	11.4
(3) Completed Elementary	16.6	18.2	17.1
(4) Attended and/or completed Middle School	17.6	26.4	20.7
(5) Attended but did not complete Lise	4.6	7.3	5.5
(6) Completed Lise	7.9	13.4	9.8
(7) Attended and/or completed Vocational/Technical	3.6	6.2	4.5
(8) Attended and/or completed Higher Institution (Yuksek Okul)	1.8	1.8	1.8
(9) Attended but did not complete University	1.1	2.6	1.6
(10) Completed University	2.7	5.0	3.5
(11) Attended another school	2.8	3.5	3.0
(12) Unknown	2.6	1.8	2.3

Table 11

TABLE 11

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING TO WHICH LISE STUDENTS ASPIRE

(Percentages)

INSTITUTION	SCHOOL				
	Public n=1321	Private n=1380	Minority n=857	Foreign n=1213	Total n=4771
1. Ankara University	15.5	11.0	.35	5.8	9.0
2. Ataturk University	2.1	.8	.0	.1	.8
3. Ege University	3.3	3.3	.0	.8	2.1
4. Istanbul University	18.9	18.8	33.8	15.9	20.8
5. Istanbul Technical University	23.1	16.0	19.3	16.4	18.7
6. Middle East Technical University	6.5	15.7	.4	11.2	9.3
7. Robert College	1.2	3.6	13.9	17.0	8.2
8. Educational Institute, Higher Teacher's Training	11.5	6.5	2.9	.7	5.7
9. School of Commerce, etc.	2.0	3.8	3.3	1.6	2.7
10. Technical Higher School	1.8	1.4	1.6	.5	1.3
11. Conservatory, Academy of Fine Arts	6.4	9.5	12.1	10.3	9.3
12. Another Institution	7.7	9.6	12.4	19.8	12.1

TABLE 12

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING TO WHICH LISE STUDENTS EXPECT TO GO (percentages)

University Expectation (Type of University)	SCHOOL				
	Public n=1197	Private n=1304	Minority n=766	Foreign n=1108	Total n=4375
1. Ankara University	16.5	11.9	.4	6.7	9.9
2. Ataturk University	2.3	.7	.0	.0	.8
3. Ege University	3.3	3.8	.3	1.3	2.4
4. Istanbul University	20.6	19.6	36.8	17.3	22.3
5. Istanbul Technical University	22.5	15.6	20.5	16.8	18.7
6. Middle East Technical University	6.9	16.3	.3	11.3	9.6
7. Robert College	1.3	3.5	13.2	19.0	8.5
8. Educational Institute, Higher Teacher's Training	11.0	6.5	2.4	.9	5.6
9. School of Commerce, etc.	2.2	4.3	3.3	1.5	2.8
10. Technical Higher School	1.8	1.5	2.2	.4	1.4
11. Conservatory, Academy of Fine Arts	6.1	9.4	12.4	11.4	9.5
12. Another Institution	5.6	6.9	8.4	13.4	8.4

Table 13

TABLE 13
FACULTIES IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING TO WHICH LISE STUDENTS EXPECT TO GO
(percentages)

	Faculty	SCHOOL				
		Public n=1259	Private n-1376	Minority n=794	Foreign n=1194	Aggregate of Students n=4623
1.	Dil, Tarih, ve Cografya (Humanities)	9.4	9.7	14.5	11.1	10.7
2.	Medical and Related	14.4	13.0	17.6	9.8	13.4
3.	Law	8.7	6.0	4.3	3.1	5.7
4.	Science	9.9	8.1	19.1	10.6	11.2
5.	Engineering and Related	13.6	20.0	13.7	28.0	19.2
6.	Political Science	6.5	6.0	.13	8.0	5.6
7.	Agriculture	6.4	2.9	.3	.7	2.8
8.	Management, Administration, Economy	2.8	6.0	4.3	5.4	4.7
9.	Religion	.2	.0	.8	.0	.2
10.	Army, Navy, Air Force Academies	1.8	1.5	.5	.3	1.1
11.	Teacher Training	5.4	4.1	1.3	1.8	3.4
12.	Other	21.0	22.8	23.3	21.4	22.0

Table 14

TABLE 14

FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS
(percentages)

Father's Occupation	EXPECTATIONS Will certainly be able to continue	Have a good chance to continue	Will certainly not be able to continue	
1. high professional	52.3	45.4	2.3	n=619
2. professional and high technical	34.3	62.3	3.4	470
3. managerial and high administrative	47.6	49.7	2.7	292
4. minor administrative	39.4	57.6	3.0	66
5. clerical	37.1	59.3	3.6	754
6. trade and business	34.8	58.9	6.3	1197
7. farmers, fishermen, hunters	29.3	51.8	19.0	485
8. skilled and craftsmen	25.4	66	8.6	685
9. semi-skilled	33.3	54.2	12.5	24
10. unskilled	19.4	70.6	10.0	160
11. unidentified	32.7	59.2	8.1	223
column total percentage	35.7	57.7	6.6	n=4975

Table 15

TABLE 15

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF LISE STUDENTS
BY TYPE OF SCHOOL
(percentages)

Job Aspired	Public A n=1380	Public E* n=1370	Private A n=1467	Private E n=1455	Minority A n=924	Minority E n=926	Foreign A n=1293	Foreign E n=1290	Aggregate A n=5064	Aggregate E n=5041
1. Higher Professional	52.4	19.3	46.8	23.8	45.2	19.4	48.3	29.0	48.4	23.1
2. Professional and Higher Technical	9.0	11.6	12.1	12.4	8.2	9.1	10.4	11.6	10.1	11.4
3. Managerial and Higher Administrative	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.9	.8	.1	2.6	1.9	1.6	1.5
4. Minor Administrative	1.2	1.0	1.2	.8	.7	.1	.3	.2	.9	.5
5. Clerical	16.1	25.3	14.8	18.4	18.7	21.2	14.5	17.8	15.8	20.6
6. Private Traders, Small Business	1.1	3.9	4.0	7.6	1.7	5.2	3.2	4.5	2.6	5.4
7. Small Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, etc.	.4	1.8	.2	1.4	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.9
8. Skilled Workers and Craftsmen	2.3	2.7	4.0	2.7	4.1	3.4	6.3	3.6	4.2	3.1
9. Semi-skilled Workers	.2	.1	.1	.1	.0	.1	.0	.1	.1	.1
10. Unskilled	.1	1.2	.3	3.0	1.1	11.5	.5	4.0	.5	43
11. Unidentified	15.8	31.5	14.9	28.0	19.5	30.0	13.7	27.4	15.7	29.2

* A = Aspirations
E = Expectations

TABLE 16 Table 16

VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF LISE STUDENTS - BY SEX
(percentages)

Job Aspirations	Sex		Total
	Male N 3249	Female N 1808	N 5057
(1) Higher Professional	56.1	35.1	48.6
(2) Professional and Higher Technical	8.2	13.3	10.1
(3) Managerial and Higher Administrative	2.0	0.9	1.6
(4) Minor Administrative	1.3	0.2	0.9
(5) Clerical	11.0	24.5	15.8
(6) Private Traders, Small Business	3.7	0.5	2.6
(7) Small Farmer, Fisherman, Hunter	0.3	0.1	0.2
(8) Skilled Workers and Craftsmen	2.3	7.5	4.2
(9) Semi-skilled Workers	0.2	.0	0.1
(10) Unskilled	0.2	1.0	0.5
(11) Unidentified	14.8	17.0	15.6

TABLE 17

VOCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF LISE STUDENTS - BY SEX
(percentages)

Job Expected	Sex Male N 3226	 Female N 1807	Total N 5033
(1) Higher Professional	27.3	15.4	23.1
(2) Professional and Higher Technical	12.2	9.9	11.4
(3) Managerial and Higher Administrative	2.1	0.5	1.5
(4) Minor Administrative	0.8	0.1	0.5
(5) Clerical	15.9	29.2	20.7
(6) Private Traders, Small Business	8.1	0.3	5.3
(7) Small Farmer, Fisherman, Hunter	1.5	.0	1.0
(8) Skilled Workers and Craftsmen	2.8	3.5	3.1
(9) Semi-skilled Workers	0.1	.0	0.1
(10) Unskilled	0.5	11.1	4.3
(11) Unidentified	28.7	30.1	29.2

Table 18

TABLE 18

PROFESSIONAL PREFERENCES OF LISE STUDENTS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Free Profession	Type of School Public n=1383	 Private n=1470	 Minority n=920	 Foreign n=1288	Total n=5061
1. Lawyer	8.3	5.7	7.2	4.3	6.3
2. Dentist	1.9	2.5	3.6	1.0	2.1
3. Doctor	13.1	10.6	17.6	9.2	12.2
4. Pharmacist	10.0	11.[illegible]	6.3	4.3	9.2
5. Scientist	12.2	8.0	13.7	10.0	10.7
6. Journalist	4.0	6.2	5.1	8.5	6.0
7. Nurse	.4	.2	1.7	1.3	.8
8. Businessman (merchant, factory owner, contractor)	3.5	9.7	7.4	9.9	7.6
9. Architect	6.8	13.3	5.1	10.8	10.9
10. Engineer	30.2	23.2	19.7	24.4	24.8
11. None	9.8	8.9	12.6	7.4	9.4

Table 19

TABLE 19
PROFESSIONAL PREFERENCES AMONG LISE STUDENTS ACCORDING TO SEX

Free Professions		Sex		
		Male n=3251	Female n=1803	Total n=5054
(1)	Lawyer	5.1	8.4	6.2
(2)	Dentist	2.2	2.1	2.1
(3)	Doctor	10.8	14.8	12.2
(4)	Pharmacist	4.8	17.0	9.1
(5)	Scientist	11.9	8.7	10.7
(6)	Journalist	4.3	9.0	6.0
(7)	Nurse	0.1	2.2	0.8
(8)	Businessman (merchant, factory owner, contractor, etc.)	10.8	1.8	7.6
(9)	Architect	8.2	15.8	10.9
(10)	Engineer	33.9	8.2	24.7
(11)	None	7.9	12.2	9.5

TABLE 20

FATHER'S EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS
(percentages)

Occupational Aspirations	Father's Education												Aggregate
	None	Attended Elementary	Completed Elementary	Middle (Orta)	Attended Lise	Completed Lise	Vocational/ Technical	Higher (Yüksek Okul)	Attended University	Completed University	Another school	Unknown	
	n= 415	n= 631	n= 616	n= 701	n= 311	n= 476	n= 284	n= 221	n= 102	n= 789	n= 365	n= 118	n=4979
1. higher professional	46.8	46.8	48.7	48.8	50.8	42.3	49.3	48.0	41.2	53.4	51.5	41.5	48.5
2. professional and higher technical	7.0	8.9	8.9	9.6	11.3	9.4	11.6	11.8	13.7	11.8	11.2	12.7	10.1
3. managerial and higher administrative	2.9	1.3	1.6	1.6	.3	1.6	1.4	2.7	2.0	1.8	1.9	.0	1.7
4. minor administrative	1.2	.6	.7	1.4	.0	.7	2.1	1.4	1.1	.3	1.4	.9	.9
5. clerical	18.8	18.9	16.9	15.4	11.6	19.5	14.8	13.1	16.7	12.4	14.0	17.0	15.8
6. private traders, small business	1.9	3.3	2.9	2.4	4.8	2.6	2.1	.9	7.8	1.8	1.9	1.7	2.6
7. small farmer, fisherman, hunter	.7	.2	.2	.3	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.3	.0	.2

(continued)

TABLE 20 (continued)

FATHER'S EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

(percentages)

Occupational Aspirations	None	Attended Elementary	Completed Elementary	Middle (Orta)	Attended Lise	Completed Lise	Vocational/ Technical	Higher (Yüksek Okul)	Attended University	Completed University	Another school	Unknown	Aggregate
						Father's Education							
	n= 415	n= 631	n= 616	n= 701	n= 311	n= 476	n= 284	n= 221	n= 102	n= 789	n= 365	n= 118	n= 4979
8. skilled worker and craftsmen	1.2	3.0	2.3	3.7	6.1	5.9	5.3	7.7	5.9	6.1	3.0	3.4	4.2
9. semi-skilled worker	.2	.0	.2	.1	.3	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1
10. unskilled	.5	.3	.2	.7	.6	.7	.7	.5	1.0	.1	.6	.9	.5
11. unidentified	18.8	16.8	17.5	16.0	14.2	17.4	12.7	14.0	10.8	12.3	14.3	22.0	15.6

Table 21

TABLE 21

MOTHER'S EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS
(percentages)

	Mother's Education												
Occupational Aspirations	None	Attended Elementary	Completed Elementary	Middle (Orta)	Attended Lise	Completed Lise	Vocational/ Technical	Higher (Yüksek Okul)	Attended University	Completed University	Another school	Unknown	Aggregate
	n= 932	n= 574	n= 865	n= 1036	n= 278	n= 491	n= 230	n= 92	n= 81	n= 174	n= 151	n= 114	n= 5018
1. higher professional	49.5	46.5	48.2	48.4	46.4	51.7	51.7	43.5	46.9	55.8	41.1	43	48.5
2. professional and higher technical	7.2	11.3	10.1	11.7	13.3	7.3	9.6	9.8	9.9	12.1	12.6	12.3	10.1
3. managerial and higher administrative	1.9	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.1	1.4	1.3	2.2	.0	.6	.7	1.8	1.6
4. minor administrative	.6	.9	1.0	.7	.4	1.0	2.6	2.2	.0	.0	.7	.9	.9
5. clerical	17.6	17.6	16.3	14.0	15.5	14.3	16.1	16.3	18.5	13.8	15.9	12.3	15.8
6. private traders, small business	2.0	3.0	2.5	2.8	3.6	2.0	1.3	4.4	1.2	2.3	2.0	6.1	2.6
7. small farmer, fisherman, hunter	.6	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.4	.0	.0	.6	.0	.0	.2
8. skilled workers and craftsmen	1.7	3.0	3.8	4.1	6.5	6.7	4.4	4.4	4.9	5.8	10.6	3.5	4.1
9. semi-skilled workers	.0	.2	.1	.0	.0	.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.7	.9	.1
10. unskilled	.4	.4	.5	.8	.0	.6	.0	.0	.0	.6	.7	.0	.5
11. unidentified	18.4	15.7	15.5	15.8	13.3	14.7	12.6	17.4	18.5	8.6	15.2	19.3	15.7

Table 22

TABLE 22

FATHER'S EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

(percentages)

Occupational Expectations	Father's Education												Aggregate
	None	Attended Elementary	Completed Elementary	Middle (Orta)	Attended *Lise*	Completed *Lise*	Vocational/ Technical	Higher (Yüksek Okul)	Attended University	Completed University	Another school	Unknown	
	n= 416	n= 632	n= 614	n= 692	n= 310	n= 427	n= 287	n= 220	n= 100	n= 781	n= 361	n= 118	n= 4958
1. higher professional	13.7	17.4	19.7	21.2	24.2	23.7	23.7	33.6	13.0	35.2	23.0	17.8	23.1
2. professional and higher technical	9.9	9.8	10.8	13.4	12.3	11.9	11.2	10.5	22.0	9.4	12.5	17.8	11.4
3. managerial and higher administrative	3.1	1.6	.3	1.7	.3	.9	1.4	.5	3.0	1.9	1.9	.9	1.5
4. minor administrative	.2	.5	.3	1.0	.0	.0	2.1	.9	.0	.1	.8	.0	.5
5. clerical	32	25.0	21.2	18.1	16.5	20.4	19.9	17.3	22.0	15.0	21.3	22.0	20.6
6. private traders, small business	4.3	6.8	6.2	6.5	7.7	5.6	4.5	4.1	7.0	2.9	4.2	6.8	5.4
7. small farmer, fisherman, hunter	4.3	1.1	2.0	.7	.7	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	.3	.9	1.0
8. skilled workers and craftsmen	1.9	3.0	3.6	1.5	3.6	3.3	3.8	4.1	5.0	3.7	3.1	1.7	3.1
9. semi-skilled worker	.0	.0	.2	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	.9	.1
10 unskilled	1.7	6.7	4.9	5.6	6.1	2.6	3.8	2.7	7.0	3.6	2.5	3.4	4.3
11. unidentified	20.9	28.2	30.9	30.1	28.7	31.6	29.6	26.4	20.0	28.0	30.5	28.0	29.1

Table 23

TABLE 23
MOTHER'S EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS
(percentages)

Occupational Expectations	None	Attended Elementary	Completed Elementary	Middle (Orta)	Attended *Lise*	Completed *Lise*	Vocational/ Technical	Higher (Yüksek Okul)	Attended University	Completed University	Another school	Unknown	Aggregate
	Mother's Education												
	n= 929	n= 573	n= 859	n= 1033	n= 274	n= 488	n= 229	n= 90	n= 80	n= 175	n= 151	n= 115	n= 4996
1. higher professional	15	19.0	22.1	24.4	25.2	32.2	29.7	30.0	27.5	32.6	22.5	22.6	23.0
2. professional and higher technical	9.5	11.7	12.8	13.7	9.9	9.0	9.6	13.3	20.0	8.0	9.3	15.7	11.5
3. managerial and higher administrative	1.8	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.1	1.0	1.3	.0	.0	2.3	2.0	1.7	1.5
4. minor administrative	14.0	.4	1.2	.1	.4	.2	.4	1.1	.0	.0	.0	3.5	.5
5. clerical	29.0	24.8	19.9	16.8	17.5	15.8	18.8	17.8	17.5	16.6	18.5	18.7	20.6
6. private traders, small business	5.4	5.4	4.7	6.4	6.9	5.1	4.4	5.6	.0	2.9	5.3	6.1	5.3
7. small farmer, fisherman, hunter	3.4	17.0	.8	.0	.7	.2	.4	.0	.0	.0	.7	.0	1.0
8. skilled workers and craftsmen	2.5	3.1	2.6	2.6	4.4	2.9	3.9	3.3	6.3	5.1	6.0	1.7	3.1
9. semi-skilled workers	.0	.4	.0	.0	.4	.0	.4	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1
10. unskilled	2.1	5.4	5.9	4.6	5.8	3.7	5.2	2.2	5.0	.0	7.3	2.6	4.3
11. unidentified	31.0	27.9	28.5	29.7	27.7	29.9	25.8	26.7	23.8	32.6	28.5	30.4	29.2

TABLE 24

FATHER'S AND GRANDFATHER'S OCCUPATION, AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF LISE STUDENTS

(percentages)

Occupation	Public				Private Turkish				Minorities				Foreign				Aggregate			
	F	GF	SOA	SOE*	F	GF	SOA	SOE	F	GF	SOA	SOE	F	GF	SOA	SOE	F	GF	SOA	SOE
High Professional	5.0	2.4	52.4	19.3	16.0	6.7	46.8	23.8	3.7	2.8	45.2	10.4	22.8	10.9	48.3	28.9	12.4	5.9	48.4	23.1
Professional and High Technical	6.6	3.4	9.0	11.6	[illegible]	4.6	12.1	12.4	10.8	5.7	8.2	9.1	11.5	[illegible]	10.4	11.5	9.4	4.8	10.1	11.4
Managerial and High Administrative	5.0	5.5	1.5	1.7	8.0	11.7	1.6	1.9	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.1	7.7	10.1	2.6	1.9	5.7	7.6	1.6	1.5
Minor Administrative	2.1	0.6	1.2	0.1	1.6	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.7	1.2	0.4	0.2	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.5
Clerical	20.2	12.0	16.1	25.3	16.6	13.3	14.8	18.4	4.0	3.1	18.7	21.2	16.2	14.8	14.5	17.8	15.2	11.5	15.8	20.6
Trade and Business	13.5	12.7	1.1	3.3	29.7	18.2	4.0	7.6	32.0	24.6	1.7	5.2	29.9	25.5	3.2	4.5	24.1	19.7	2.6	5.4
Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters	22.9	40.2	0.4	1.8	[illegible]	19.2	0.2	1.4	4.0	7.0	.0	.0	0.9	6.5	0.1	0.1	[illegible]	19.6	0.2	0.9
Skilled and Craftsmen	13.4	7.5	2.3	2.7	8.4	3.9	4.0	2.7	33.7	17.6	4.1	3.4	5.6	5.4	6.3	3.6	13.8	7.8	4.2	3.0
Semi-skilled	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.5	1.1	.0	0.1	-	0.4	.0	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.1
Unskilled	4.9	2.1	0.1	1.2	2.0	1.5	0.3	3.0	4.4	2.4	1.1	11.5	0.2	0.6	0.5	4.0	3.2	1.6	0.5	4.3
Unidentified	5.5	13.1	15.8	31.5	4.0	[illegible]	14.9	28.0	5.2	34.4	19.5	30.0	0.9	18.6	13.7	27.4	4.4	20.3	15.7	29.2

* F Father's Occupation
GF · Grandfather's Occupation
SOA = Student's Occupational Aspirations
SOE = Student's Occupational Expectation

Table 25

TABLE 25

VALUES OF LISE STUDENTS: LESSONS MOST IMPORTANT TO TEACH CHILDREN (1)

First Most Important Lesson To Teach Children	Type of School				Aggregate of Students n= 4532	Male n=2899	Female n=1628
	Public n=1260	Private n=1331	Minority n=808	Foreign n=1133			
Physical or Material Considerations	.2	.6	.4	.4	.4	.6	.1
Personal Achievement-Intellectual; Cultural Development	9.4	10.7	16.0	12.6	11.8	11.7	11.9
Personal Achievement: Personality Development	13.8	21.0	15.5	34.5	21.4	20.0	23.8
Personal Achievement: Vocational	.6	.5	.4	.6	.6	.7	.3
Fame and Status	.3	.2	.3	.3	.3	.3.	.2
Ethics and Morals	63.2	56.0	56.4	42.3	54.7	54.4	55.1
Solidarity-Immediate	1.4	1.0	1.9	3.3	1.8	1.9	1.8
Solidarity-General	7.6	6.0	5.3	3.9	5.8	6.4	4.9
Power and Authority	1.0	1.4	3.0	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.2
Religion	2.4	2.5	1.0	1.0	1.81	2.4	.7

Table 26

TABLE 26

VALUES OF LISE STUDENTS: LESSONS MOST IMPORTANT TO TEACH CHILDREN (2)

Second Most Important Lesson to Teach Children	Type of School : Public n=1387	Private n=1478	Minority n=925	Foreign n=1293	Aggregate of Students n=5083	Male n=3267	Female n=1809
Physical or Material Considerations	.8	.7	.8	.2	.6	.7	.5
Personal Achievement-Intellectual, Cultural Development	27.1	22.5	26.7	19.7	23.8	24.1	23.3
Personal Achievement-Personality Development	21.6	24.4	18.4	31.6	24.4	23.5	26.0
Personal Achievement-Vocational	2.8	1.8	1.7	1.2	1.9	2.5	.8
Fame and Status	.9	1.0	.7	.9	.9	1.1	.3
Ethics and Morals	19.0	21.2	23.2	20.0	20.7	19.4	23.2
Solidarity-Immediate	2.1	3.1	1.7	3.6	2.7	2.3	3.5
Solidarity-General	10.0	7.5	3.8	5.4	7.0	7.5	6.1
Power and Authority	.7	.7	2.1	.7	.9	.9	1.0
Religion	1.51	1.2	.5	.2	.9	1.2	.4
Indefinite: I don't know, "none", etc.	11.0	12.1	16.4	12.0	12.6	12.9	11.8
All meaningless or useless answers.	2.5	3.9	4.0	4.3	3.6	4.0	3.6

Tables 27 and 28

TABLE 27

STUDENTS' VIEWS ON "KISMET"
(Percentages)

When a man is born, the success he is going to have is already "in the cards" so he might as well accept it and not fight against it.	School						
	Public	Private	Minority	Foreign	Aggregate	Male	Female
Agree	24	24	22	14	24	21	21
Disagree	76	76	78	86	76	79	79

TABLE 28

STUDENTS' VIEWS ON "RESPECT FOR ELDERS"

Respect is due an older person no matter what kind of person he is.							
Agree	83	77	78	58	73	71	77
Disagree	17	23	22	42	27	29	23

Tables 29,
30 & 31

TABLE 29

STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO "THE WORLD IS A HAZARDOUS PLACE IN WHICH MEN ARE BASICALLY EVIL AND DANGEROUS."

(Percentages)

	Public	Private	Minority	Foreign	Aggregate	Male	Female
Completely Agree	6	6	10	4	6	6	5
Slightly Agree	29	34	39	35	34	33	37
Slightly Disagree	20	20	21	20	20	20	20
Completely Disagree	44	40	30	41	40	41	38

TABLE 30

STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO "PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED"

	Public	Private	Minority	Foreign	Aggregate	Male	Female
Completely Agree	7.5	8	4	6	7	8	6
Slightly Agree	50.5	47	47	49	48	51	44
Slightly Disagree	23	24	22	24	23	22	25
Completely Disagree	19	21	26	21	22	19	25

TABLE 31

STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO "IF WE HAVE SUFFICIENT WILL-POWER AND DETERMINATION, NO DIFFICULTY CAN DIVERT US FROM OUR PATH."

	Public	Private	Minority	Foreign	Aggregate	Male	Female
Completely Agree	76	71	65	56	67	69	62
Slightly Agree	18	22	29	34	25	23	31
Slightly Disagree	4	4	4	7	5	5	5
Completely Disagree	2	3	2	3	3	3	2

Table 32

TABLE 32

STUDENTS' OUTLOOK ON THEIR PERSONAL FUTURE
(Percentages)

	Type of School						
Outlook	Public	Private	Minority	Foreign	Aggregate	Male	Female
Enthusiastic	18	18	15	17	17	17	17
Hopeful	70	66	72	64	67	69	65
Indifferent	1.5	3	2	2	2	2	2
Resigned	7	9	6	12	9	7	12
Embittered	3.5	4	5	5	4	4	4

QUESTIONNAIRE
(Translation from Turkish Original)

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF TURKISH LISE

Andreas M. Kazamias
Professor of Educational Policy Studies
University of Wisconsin

PART I

1. Name of School: ______________________________

2. Type of School

1-8- 1 ( ) Public Lycee
2 ( ) Private Turkish Lycee
3 ( ) Minority Lycee (Azinlik)
4 ( ) Foreign (Yabanci)

3. What is your sex?

1-9- 1 ( ) Male
2 ( ) Female

4. What is your class?

1-10- 1 ( ) Preparatory class
2 ( ) First lycee class (Class IV)
3 ( ) Second lycee class (Class V)
4 ( ) Third lycee class (Class VI)

5. a) If you are in the first class, what section do you plan to enter in the second and third classes?

1-11-1 ( ) Literature
2 ( ) Science
3 ( ) Undecided

b) If you are in the second or third class, what is your section?

1-12-1 ( ) Literature
2 ( ) Science

6. How old are you?

(1-13, 14) Year ____________ Month ____________

7. a) With whom do you live? (Read all the items first and then check only the one which is the most appropriate.)

1-15-1 ( ) I live with my parents
2 ( ) I live with my relatives
3 ( ) I live at my school while I am attending it, but I always return to my parents' home when my school is not in session

4 ( ) I live with my relatives while I am attending school, but always return to my parents' home when my school is not in session.
5 ( ) I live with people who are neither my parents nor my relatives but I always return to my parents' home when my school is not in session
6 ( ) I live with people who are neither my parents nor my relatives

b) How long (how many years) have you been living with the people you have indicated in the previous question (i.e. in 7-a)?

1-16-1 ( ) Always
( ) Three years
( ) One year
( ) More than three years
( ) Two years

8. What is the one most important reason that made you go to a lise instead of a vocational or a technical school?

1-17-1 ( ) Because I can get a better job after I finish a lise
2 ( ) Because I want to go to a university or a higher institution
3 ( ) Because in the lise I can get a better general education
4 ( ) Because I have no ability for technical or vocational work
5 ( ) Because it was suggested by my parents or by other persons
6 ( ) Because I will be more respected by others
7 ( ) Because I do not like technical or vocational work
8 ( ) Because of other important reasons
Specify: ____________________
9 ( ) I don't know or I am undecided

9. a) Under ideal circumstances would you want to continue your education after you have finished the lise?

1-18-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No
3 ( ) Undecided

b) If you want to continue your education after you finish the lise, to what school do you want to go?

1-19,20- 01 ( ) Ankara University
02 ( ) Atatürk University
03 ( ) Ege University
04 ( ) Istanbul University
05 ( ) Istanbul Technical University
06 ( ) Middle East Technical University
07 ( ) Robert College
08 ( ) An Educational Institute
09 ( ) A Yuksek Ögretmen Okulu

10 ( ) School of Commerce and Economics or Ticari İlimler Akademisi
11 ( ) Ticaret Yuksek Ögretmen Okulu
12 ( ) Teknik Okul
13 ( ) Teknik Ögretmen Okulu
14 ( ) Conservatory
15 ( ) Academy of Fine Arts
16 ( ) Another institution which we have not mentioned
Specify ______________________________

10. a) Sometimes, of course, we cannot always get what we want. Looking realistically at your future, do you think you will be able to continue your education after you have finished the lise?

1-21- 1 ( ) I will certainly be able to continue my education
2 ( ) I have a good chance to continue my education
3 ( ) I will certainly not be able to continue my education

b) If you expect to continue your education after you finish the lise (that is if in question 10-a you have given the answer "I will certainly be able to continue my education," or "I have a good chance to continue my education."), to what university or higher institution do you expect to go?

1-22,23- 01 ( ) Ankara University
02 ( ) Atatürk University
03 ( ) Ege University
04 ( ) Istanbul University
05 ( ) Istanbul Technical University
06 ( ) Middle East Technical University
07 ( ) Robert College
08 ( ) An Educational Institute
09 ( ) A Yüksek Ögretmen Okulu
10 ( ) School of Commerce and Economics or Ticari İlimler Akademisi
11 ( ) Ticaret Yüksek Ögretmen Okulu
12 ( ) Teknik Okul
13 ( ) Teknik Ögretmen Okulu
14 ( ) Conservatory
15 ( ) Academy of Fine Arts
16 ( ) Another institution which we have not mentioned
Specify ______________________________

c) If you do not expect to continue your education (that is, if in question 10-a you gave the answer "I will certainly not be able to continue my education") what in your opin[illegible] would be the major reason? (If in question 10-a you chose [illegible] first item, do not answer this question).

1-24- 1 ( ) Because I do not want to go to a University or a higher institution

2 ( ) Because I do not have enough money, and my family cannot support me
3 ( ) Because entrance to the university is very difficult
4 ( ) Because I do not think I can enter the school of my liking
5 ( ) Because it is necessary to find a job and support my family
6 ( ) Because of other reasons
Specify ______________________________

11. If you expect to go to a university or a higher institution, which department (or faculty) do you expect to enter?

12. If, when you finish your education, you had your own choice about a job, what kind of job would you like to have more than another? Describe the job fully. Be specific in your description (for example, if you would like to be a doctor, indicate whether you want to be a surgeon, a pathologist etc.)

13. Of course, we cannot always have the job we would like best of all. Looking realistically at your future, what job do you think you will get?

14. When you start working, where would you prefer to work?

1-31-1 ( ) Work in a government office?
2 ( ) Work in a government-owned industry or a government-owned bank? (e.g. Is Bankasi etc.)
3 ( ) Work for a private employer or a private company (commerce or business)
4 ( ) Engage in one of the free professions (doctor, lawyer, engineer etc.)
5 ( ) Start your own business (e.g. factory owner, merchant, contractor etc.)
6 ( ) Do something else

15. When you start looking for a job, what things will be most important for you in making your choice? Put "1" in front of the item which will be most important, then 2 before the item which will be the next most important and so on.

1-32- ( ) A secure job with steady work
1-33- ( ) A job which gives you prestige and status
1-34- ( ) A job which is interesting and enjoyable
1-35- ( ) A job with high income
1-36- ( ) A job where I can raise my status in life
1-37- ( ) A job where there are friendly people to work with

1-38- ( ) A job which gives you power over other people
1-39- ( ) A job which is easy
1-40- ( ) A job which is responsible
1-41- ( ) Another job
Specify ______________________________

16. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: "When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his family, even if it means giving up a good job opportunity away from his family."

1-42-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I disagree
3 ( ) I am undecided

17. Here is a list of different types of occupations in Turkey. If you had a choice of these occupations, which would you choose? Choose five which in your opinion will be most desirable for you to have, and rank them (1,2,3,4, and 5)

1-43 to 52
01 ( ) Ilk Okul Teacher (Elementary School teacher)
02 ( ) Orta Okul teacher (Middle School teacher)
03 ( ) Lise teacher (High School teacher)
04 ( ) Professor
05 ( ) Free professional (doctor, lawyer, engineer, architect etc.)
06 ( ) National Government official
07 ( ) Local Government official
08 ( ) Secretary
09 ( ) Military officer
10 ( ) Religious leader (imam, vaiz etc.)
11 ( ) Businessman (employee)
12 ( ) Businessman, self-employed (factory owner, importer, exporter, contractor, merchant etc.)
13 ( ) Official not connected with the government (i.e. bank official, insurance official etc.)
14 ( ) Official connected with the government (i.e. in the Central Bank, Railroad etc.)
15 ( ) Skilled worker
16 ( ) Nurse
17 ( ) Farm owner
18 ( ) Diplomat (ambassador, consul etc.)
19 ( ) Other Specify ______________________

18. If it was in your power, which of the following occupations would you prefer most? (Choose only one)

1-53,54- 01 ( ) Lawyer
02 ( ) Dentist
03 ( ) Doctor
04 ( ) Pharmacist
05 ( ) Scientist
06 ( ) Journalist
07 ( ) Nurse
08 ( ) Businessman (merchant, factory-owner, contractor etc.)
09 ( ) Architect
10 ( ) Engineer
11 ( ) I do not prefer any of these occupations

19. If you had your choice (if it was in your hands), where do you want to get a job? (Indicate both your first and second choices by marking them as 1 and 2)

1-55,56- 1 ( ) In Ankara, Istanbul or Izmir
2 ( ) In a city of over 50,000 inhabitants other than Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir
Specify the city ____________________
3 ( ) In a city of less than 50,000 inhabitants
4 ( ) In a town
5 ( ) In a village
6 ( ) In another country
7 ( ) I have no preference

20. Do you have any friends who finished the lise but did not continue their education beyond the lise? If so, what jobs do they have now? To your knowledge, approximately how much money do they make per month? Just put down the job and the approximate monthly income.

	(1-57,58) **Job**	**(1-59,60,61)** **Approximate Monthly Income**
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

21. Do you have any friends who were not able to finish the lise, and left school before they graduated? If so, what jobs do they have now, and to your knowledge, approximately how much do they make per month? Just put down the job and the approximate monthly income.

(1-62,63) Job	(1-64, 65, 66) Approximate Monthly Income
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

22. Do you know any other language beside Turkish?

1-67-1 ( ) No
2 ( ) Yes (Please specify; if read only, write "weak") ____
____

23. Which one of the following three types of jobs would you prefer?

1-68-1 ( ) A position with rather low income but with little chance of losing it

2 ( ) A position with moderate income and a normal chance of losing it

3 ( ) A position with high income but with a high chance of losing it

24. a) Do you at present have a scholarship that enables you to attend this school?

1-69-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No

b) If you do have a scholarship, could you have attended this school without it?

1-70-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No
3 ( ) I don't know

25. What is your religion?

1-71-1 ( ) Moslem
2 ( ) Non-Moslem

(1-72,73) 26. a) How many older living brothers do you have? ____________
b) How many younger living brothers do you have? ____________

(1-75,76) 27. a) How many older living sisters do you have? ____________
b) How many younger living sisters do you have? ____________

PART II

28. Why, in your opinion, do people get an education? (Select only one of the following alternatives.)

2-8-1 ( ): Because they can get a better paid job
2 ( ) Because they will raise their social status
3 ( ) Because they will be more respected by others
4 ( ) Because they will become powerful members of the community
5 ( ) Because of other reasons - If so, specify ____________
____

29. What is your attitude toward the following two statements?

a) "Schools should concentrate on practical skills rather than on theoretical and intellectual matters."

2-9-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I have no idea
3 ( ) I disagree

b) "Memory is more important than reason for becoming well-educated."

2-10-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I have no idea
3 ( ) I disagree

30. What, in your opinion, is the one most important mark of an educated man?

2-11-1 ( ) Good behavior and good way of talking
2 ( ) Good character
3 ( ) Ability to reason properly
4 ( ) A lot of knowledge
5 ( ) Good way of dressing
6 ( ) Humility
7 ( ) Good citizen
8 ( ) I don't know

31. At school you are studying many subjects (Turkish, history, science, etc.) Name three of your favorite subjects. In the three blank spaces below, put the subjects in the order of your liking.

2-12 First ____________________
2-13 Second____________________
2-14 Third ____________________
2-12-0 ( ) I don't like any subject

32. What three subjects do you think will be most useful and helpful to you in your career after school? In the three blanks below, put the subjects in the order in which you think they will be the most useful and helpful.

2-15 First ____________________
2-16 Second ____________________
2-17 Third ____________________
2-15-0 None of them ______________

33. What is the most important thing you have gained from your schooling up to now?

____

____

34. a) In general about how much schooling does a young man need to get along well in life?

2-18-1 ( ) None
2 ( ) Primary school
3 ( ) Middle school
4 ( ) Vocational School
5 ( ) Lise
6 ( ) University or higher school
7 ( ) I don't know

b) In general, about how much schooling does a young woman need to get along well in life?

2-19-1 ( ) None
2 ( ) Primary school
3 ( ) Middle school
4 ( ) Vocational School
5 ( ) Lise
6 ( ) University or higher school
7 ( ) I don't know

35. a) Do you think your teachers are:

2-20-1 ( ) Too strict
2 ( ) Too lenient
3 ( ) Neither too strict nor too lenient

b) Do you think they give you adequate advice and help in your lessons?

2-21-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No
3 ( ) Sometimes

c) Do they ridicule or say harsh things to you?

2-22-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No
3 ( ) Sometimes

(2-23) If your answer is "yes," give an example ____________________

____

36. What are your main leisure activities (that is, activities aside from school work)

____

____

37. Which two of these things do you aim at most in your school days? Check the one from the first list and the other from the second.

a)

2-26-1 ( ) To please my parents
2 ( ) To learn as much as possible
3 ( ) To please my teachers
4 ( ) To pass my examinations
5 ( ) To have a pleasant and enjoyable time
6 ( ) If any other, specify ____________________

____

b)

2-27-1 ( ) To please my parents
2 ( ) To learn as much as possible
3 ( ) To please my teachers
4 ( ) To pass my examinations
5 ( ) To have a pleasant and enjoyable time
6 ( ) If any other, specify ______________________

____

38. Concerning your personal future, would you say that in general you feel: (select the one expression closest to your idea)

2-28-1 ( ) Enthusiastic
2 ( ) Hopeful
3 ( ) Indifferent
4 ( ) Resigned
5 ( ) Embittered

39. As a parent, what two specific things will you try hardest to teach your children:

(2-29,30) (1) ______________________

(2-31,32) (2) ______________________

40. Here are five different statements. Read each one carefully and for each statement select that one which comes closest to your ideas. Please indicate how much you agree with each of the following five ideas (select only one answer for each statement)

a) "The world is a hazardous place in which men are basically evil and dangerous.'

2-33-1 ( ) I completely agree
2 ( ) I slightly agree
3 ( ) I slightly disagree
4 ( ) I completely disagree

b) "People can be trusted."

2-34-1 ( ) I completely agree
2 ( ) I slightly agree
3 ( ) I slightly disagree
4 ( ) I completely disagree

c) "If we have sufficient will power and determination, no difficulty can divert us from our path."

2-35-1 ( ) I completely agree
2 ( ) I slightly agree
3 ( ) I slightly disagree
4 ( ) I completely disagree

d) "As long as people remain as they are, wars and strife will always occur."

2-36-1 ( ) I completely agree
2 ( ) I slightly agree
3 ( ) I slightly disagree
4 ( ) I completely disagree

e) "Science can explain a number of things; but there are many important things which it is not possible for the human mind to understand."

2-37-1 ( ) I completely agree
2 ( ) I slightly agree
3 ( ) I slightly disagree
4 ( ) I completely disagree

41. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

a) "When a man is born, the success he is going to have is already 'in the cards,' so he might as well accept it and not fight against it."

2-38-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I disagree

b) "Respect is due an older person no matter what kind of person he is."

2-39-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I disagree

c) "A child should never be asked to do anything unless he is told why he is asked to do it."

2-40-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I disagree

PART III

42. Check the item which describes the present condition of your father.

2-41-1 ( ) Living and employed
2 ( ) Living and retired
3 ( ) Living and unemployed (sick)
4 ( ) Dead

(2-42,43) 43. What is your father's basic occupation? (If he is retired, dead, or unemployed, name the job he has worked at longest).

____

____

(2-44,45) 44. What is (was) your grandfather's basic occupation?

____

____

45. Where do your parents live now?

2-46-1 ( ) In this city or town in which I am attending school.
2 ( ) In another city or town in this vilayet
3 ( ) In a nearby village in this vilayet
4 ( ) In a city or town outside this vilayet
5 ( ) In a village outside this vilayet

46. Have they always lived in the same city, town, or village in which they are living now?

2-47-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No

If not, where did your father live before?
Province __________ Locality ________________

(2-48) 47. Where do (did) your grandparents live?
Province __________ Locality ________________

(2-49) 48. a) Were you born in this province?

2-49-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No

b) If in another province, name it ________________

49. Do you think of your family as being mainly rural or urban?

2-50-1 ( ) Rural
2 ( ) Urban

50. What school did your father attend? Just check the item which describes the highest level of your father's education.

2-51,52-01 ( ) Never attended any school
02 ( ) Went to an elementary school but did not finish it
03 ( ) Finished an elementary school
04 ( ) Went to a middle school but did not finish it
05 ( ) Finished a middle school
06 ( ) Went to a lise but did not finish it
07 ( ) Finished a lise
08 ( ) Went to a vocational or technical school but did not finish it
09 ( ) Finished vocational or technical school
10 ( ) Went to a higher institution (Educ. Inst.) but did not finish it
11 ( ) Finished a higher institution
12 ( ) Went to a university but did not finish it
13 ( ) Finished a university
14 ( ) Went to another school
Name it ________________________
15 ( ) I do not know

51. For whom does your father work now?

2-53-1 ( ) For himself
2 ( ) For the government
3 ( ) For someone else
4 ( ) Not employed
5 ( ) Retired
6 ( ) Dead

52. a) Has he always been in the same position, i.e. has he always worked for the same person as you have checked in the previous question (Question no. 51)

2-54-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No

b) If not, for whom was he working before? ______________________
____

53. Does your family: (Select one answer for **each** item)

				(1)		(2)
2-57	a)	Have a telephone in your house?	( )	Yes	( )	No
2-58	b)	Have a radio in your house?	( )	Yes	( )	No
2-59	c)	Own an automobile?	( )	Yes	( )	No
2-60	d)	Have a refrigerator in your house?	( )	Yes	( )	No
2-61	e)	Own your own house or apartment?	( )	Yes	( )	No
2-62	f)	Employ a full-time servant?	( )	Yes	( )	No

54. Compared to the families of most of the students in your class, would you say that your family was better off economically, worse off, or in about the same position?

2-63-1 ( ) Better off
2 ( ) Worse off
3 ( ) About the same
4 ( ) I do not know

55. What school did your mother attend? Just check the question which describes the highest level of your mother's education.

2-64,65-01 ( ) Never attended any school
02 ( ) Went to an elementary school but did not finish it
03 ( ) Finished an elementary school
04 ( ) Went to a middle school but did not finish it
05 ( ) Finished a middle school
06 ( ) Went to a lise but did not finish it
07 ( ) Finished a lise
08 ( ) Went to a vocational or technical school but did not finish it
09 ( ) Finished a vocational or a technical school
10 ( ) Went to a higher institution (Educational Institute, etc.) but did not finish it.
11 ( ) Finished a higher institution
12 ( ) Went to a univaristy but did not finish it
13 ( ) Finished a university
14 ( ) Went to another school. (Name it) ______________________
15 ( ) I do not know

56. For whom does your mother work?

2-66-1 ( ) Stays at home (is a housewife)
2 ( ) With the husband
3 ( ) For the government
4 ( ) For someone else
5 ( ) Has a business or profession of her own

57. Here is a list of different types of jobs that people do in Turkey. In the minds of some people, some of these jobs have more prestige and respect than others. First, think of the prestige of these jobs and rank them in your mind. Then rank them from 1 to 12 in the parentheses in front of each occupation, that is put 1 for the job where in your opinion has the highest prestige, 2 for the next highest and so on.

3-8,9 ( ) Free professional (doctor, lawyer, engineer, journalist, dentist, etc.)
3-10,11 ( ) Education (teacher, school principal, etc.)
3-12,13 ( ) Religion (imam, hatip, vaiz, etc.)
3-14,15 ( ) Military Officer
3-16,17 ( ) leave these columns blank
3-18,19 ( ) National Government Official
3-20,21 ( ) Local Government Official
3-22,23 ( ) Skilled Laborer (mechanic, builder, etc.)
3-24,25 ( ) Business Executive or official (insurance company official, bank official, etc.)
3-26,27 ( ) Diplomat (ambassador, consul, cultural attache, etc.)
3-28,29 ( ) Business man (merchant, manufacturer, contractor, importer, exporter, etc.)
3-30,31 ( ) Farm owner

58. Below we give a list of different types of free professions. In the minds of some people, some of these professions have more prestige and respect than others. First, rank these professions in your mind according to the prestige you think they have. Then in the parentheses in front of each one, put a 1 for the profession which in your opinion has the highest prestige, 2 for the next highest and so on until you have ranked all ten of them.

3-32 ( ) Lawyer
3-33 ( ) Dentist
3-34 ( ) Doctor
3-35 ( ) Pharmacist
3-36 ( ) Journalist
3-37 ( ) Nurse, midwife
3-38 ( ) Scientist
3-39 ( ) Religious leader (imam)
3-40 ( ) Engineer
3-41 ( ) Veterinarian

59. Why do you think the profession you have ranked highest (by marking it as 1) has the highest prestige? ______________________________

____

60. a) Here is another list of occupations, but this time they have to do with the national and local government. In the minds of some people, some of these occupations have higher prestige than others. Put 1 for the occupation which in your opinion has the highest prestige, 2 for the next highest and so on, until you have ranked all 11 of them.

3-43,44	( )	Kaymakam
3-45,46	( )	Diplomat
3-47,48	( )	Deputy
3-49,50	( )	Governor
3-51,52	( )	Military Officer
3-53,54	( )	Military non-commissioned officer
3-55,56	( )	Nahiye Müdürü
3-57,58	( )	National Government official (devlet-memuru)
3-59,60	( )	Judge
3-61,62	( )	Director (devlet memuru)
3-63,64	( )	Muhtar

3-65 b) Why do you think the occupation you have ranked highest (i.e. by marking it as 1) has the highest prestige?

61. a) Here is a list of different types of occupations that have to do with education. In the minds of people, some of these occupations have higher prestige than others. Put 1 for the occupation which in your opinion has the highest prestige, 2 for the next highest and so on until you have ranked all ten of them.

3-66	( )	Elementary school teacher
3-67	( )	Middle school teacher
3-68	( )	Lise teacher
3-69	( )	Normal school teacher
3-70	( )	Vocational school teacher
3-71	( )	School director
3-72	( )	University professor
3-73	( )	Elementary school inspector (ilk öğretim müfettisi)
3-74	( )	National education director (Milli Eğitim Müdürü)
3-75	( )	Elementary education director or head teacher (ilk ögretim müdürü, baş oğretmen)

3-76 b) Why do you think the occupation you have ranked highest (i.e. by marking it as 1) has the highest prestige?

____

____

62. a) Here is still another list of different types of occupations that have to do with labor and business. In the minds of people, some of these occupations have higher prestige than others. Put 1 for the occupation which in your opinion has the highest prestige, 2 for the next highest, and so on, until you have ranked all 12 of them.

4-8,9 ( ) Building contractor
4-10,11 ( ) Merchant (importer, exporter, etc.)
4-12,13 ( ) Independent large farm owner
4-14,15 ( ) A small merchant
4-16,17 ( ) Mechanic
4-18,19 ( ) Independent small farm owner
4-20,21 ( ) Factory worker
4-22,23 ( ) Private business executive or official
4-24,25 ( ) Agricultural worker
4-26,27 ( ) Manufacturer
4-28,29 ( ) Bank official
4-30,31 ( ) Accountant

b) Why do you think the occupation you have ranked highest (i.e. by marking it as 1) has the highest prestige?

(4-32) ______________________________

____

63. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statement. "In general, I accept what the newspapers write as being true."

4-33-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No

64. Suppose after finishing the lise you had a chance for three similar jobs with approximately the same income, but one was in this town or city, another in a bigger town or city and the third in a village. Which job do you think you will choose?

4-34-1 ( ) The job in this town or city
2 ( ) The job in the bigger town or city
3 ( ) The job in the village

65. Why do you think you will choose that job? ______________________________

____

66. What is the one most important reason for your choosing to come to this lise instead of going to another?

4-36,37-01 ( ) Because this lise is near my home
02 ( ) Because here I can learn more
03 ( ) Because it is less expensive to attend this lise
04 ( ) Because by attending this lise I have more chances to succeed in the university examinations
05 ( ) Because this school has granted me a scholarship
06 ( ) Because many of my friends are in this lise
07 ( ) Because my parents sent me to this lise
08 ( ) Because this lise is a boys' school
(Because this lise is a girls' school)
09 ( ) Because this lise is coeducational
10 ( ) Because this is an easy school
11 ( ) If you have other reasons, specify ______________________

67. a) Suppose a friend of yours finished an orta okul with just a passing mark. Do you think he should go to a lise like your own or to a commercial lise or to a vocational school?

4-38-1 ( ) I think he should go to a lise like my own.
2 ( ) I think he should go to a commercial lise.
3 ( ) I think he should go to a vocational school.

4-39 b) Why? Please explain reasons for your choice. ______________________

68. In all schools some students are better known than others. In your school who are the students who are better known?

4-40-1 ( ) Those who come from wealthy families
2 ( ) Those who get the highest marks in their lessons
3 ( ) Those who are good athletes
4 ( ) Those who are leaders in school clubs and activities
5 ( ) Those who are friendly
6 ( ) Those who are good-looking
7 ( ) Other (Specify) ______________________

69. When you have left school, how would you like best to be remembered by the other students of the school?

4-41-1 ( ) As a good student
2 ( ) As a good athlete
3 ( ) As a good friend
4 ( ) As a nice person
5 ( ) Other (If so, the reason) ______________________

70. Among your friends in your leisure time, what specific topics do you talk about most often? ____________________

____

71. How much chance of personal advancement do you feel you have in your life? (Select the one that comes closest to your idea.)

4-44-1 ( ) Very much
2 ( ) Much
3 ( ) Moderate
4 ( ) Little
5 ( ) None

72. a) Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statement. "The amount of education a person has should be the most important factor in determining his pay scale."

4-45-1 ( ) Yes
2 ( ) No
3 ( ) I have no idea

b) If your answer is "no," what, in your opinion, should be the most important factor.

73. We all have certain ideas about ourselves and about what we do. Looking at yourself and your studies at school, how could you answer the following questions?

a) "I am studying very hard."

4-47-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I cannot tell
3 ( ) I disagree

b) "I am studying hard, but I do not get good marks."

4-48-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I cannot tell
3 ( ) I disagree

c) "I would prefer to be the best student in my class to being the best athlete."

4-49-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I cannot tell
3 ( ) I disagree

c) "My teachers ask me to do things which I do not like."

4-50-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I cannot tell
3 ( ) I disagree

d) "The most important thing in my life at school is to pass my examinations."

4-51-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I cannot tell
3 ( ) I disagree

e) "I feel I waste time and spend it uselessly."

4-52-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I cannot tell
3 ( ) I disagree

f) "If I had a completely free choice, I would not have come to this school."

4-53-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I cannot tell
3 ( ) I disagree

74. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statement. "Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents."

4-54-1 ( ) I agree
2 ( ) I disagree

75. What was the average grade you received at the end of last year?

Average grade ___________

76. If you were free to go to any lise you wanted, what lise would you have wanted to go? (Mark only one from the items below.)

4-56-1 ( ) I would go to the same lise as I am now
2 ( ) I would go to another public lise. Write the name of such lise ____

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